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VOLUME X JULY, 1927 NUMBER 1

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(*Continued from April Number*)

CHAPTER III

LA SALLE'S VOYAGES

In the five or six years succeeding the visits of Joliet and Marquette to the Illinois country, the information obtained by them was made public in various ways and naturally excited much interest in the new domains made known by the explorer's reports. In official circles it was, of course, desired to profit by the discoveries and establish sovereignty over all the countries discovered. To this end, René Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle was commissioned by the French King to "endeavor to discover the western part of New France." His commission from the King read thus:

LA SALLE'S COMMISSION

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre. To our dear and well-beloved Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle, greeting.

We have received with favor the very humble petition, which has been presented to us in your name, to permit you to endeavor to discover the western part of New France; and we have consented to this proposal the more willingly, because there is nothing we have more at heart than the discovery of this country, through which it is probable a road may be found to penetrate to Mexico (*dans laquel il y a apparence que l'on trouversa un chemin pour penetrer jusqu'au Mexique*); and because your diligence in clearing the lands which we granted to you by the decree of our council of the 13th of May, 1675, and by Letters Patent of the same date, to form habitations upon the said lands, and to put Fort Frontenac in a good state of defense, the seigniory and government whereof we likewise granted to you, affords us every reason to hope that you

will succeed to our satisfaction, and to the advantage of our subjects of the said country.

For these reasons, and others thereunto moving us, we have permitted, and do hereby permit you, by these presents, signed by our hand, to endeavor to discover the western part of New France, and, for the execution of this enterprise, to construct forts wherever you shall deem it necessary; which it is our will that you shall hold on the same terms and conditions as Fort Frontenac, agreeably and conformably to our said Letters Patent of the 13th of March, 1675, which we have confirmed, as far as is needful, and hereby confirm by these patents. And it is our pleasure that they be executed according to their form and tenor.

To accomplish this, and everything above mentioned, we give you full powers; on condition, however, that you shall finish this enterprise within five years, in default of which these presents shall be void and of none effect; that you carry on no trade whatever with the savages called Outaouacs (Ottawas), and others who bring their beaver skins and other peltries to Montreal; and that the whole shall be done at your expense, and that of your company, to which we have granted the privilege of the trade in Buffalo skins. And we command the Sieur de Frontenac, our Governor and Lieutenant-General, and the other officers who compose the supreme council of the said country, to affix their signatures to these presents; for such is our pleasure. Given at St. Germain en Laye, this 12th day of May, 1678, and of our reign the thirty-fifth.

(Signed) LOUIS.

(And lower down,)

By the King. COLBERT.[1]

ENTERING UPON HIS CAREER

With the entrance of de la Salle upon this important mission begins the public career of one of the greatest figures in American history. He was a favorite of the great Frontenac who seconded him in all his enterprises. With such a sponsor, he found easy entrance to the presence of the King, and, being of noble appearance and masterly address, he came away from the throne with all his desires gratified. With him came the daring soldier and administrator, Henry de Tonti, destined to play such an important role in the history of New France and of Illinois.

Reaching Quebec he at once began the execution of his commission by proceeding to Fort Frontenac, located at the present site of Kingston, Ontario. In 1674, upon the recommendation of Governor Frontenac, La Salle had been granted land and the exclusive right to trade at this fort on condition that he rebuild it with stone and supply a garrison. He had fulfilled these conditions, and this fact influenced the King to favorable action on his petition in 1678.

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[1] Falconer: *The Discovery of the Mississippi*, pp. 18-20.

From Fort Frontenac he sent forward Father Louis Hennepin, a Recollect (Franciscan) priest, to direct the construction of a fort and a vessel near Niagara Falls, and he and Tonti later joined Hennepin there.

By spring of 1679, a vessel of forty-five tons, the largest ever intended for lake service up to that time, had been built. It was named the *Griffon* and an image of a griffon (eagle) adopted from the armorial bearings of Governor Frontenac was carved upon its prow. Early in the summer La Salle and his followers boarded the *Griffon* and set sail, reaching Michilimackinac where a stop was made and some trading with the Indians occurred. From here the voyage continued to Green Bay, where a quantity of beaver skins was procured and put on deck. In the Autumn the vessel loaded with its valuable cargo was started on the return trip, but La Salle did not accompany it, deciding to spend the winter exploring the Illinois country.

The interior of the country was not unknown to La Salle. Prior to this voyage, in 1669, he had rowed in his canoe over the Great Lakes and down some of the waterways of what is now Ohio, as far, according to some authorities, as the Ohio river. At any rate he was an intrepid traveler, and gained the reputation of being very popular and powerful amongst the Indian tribes with whom he came in contact.

La Salle's Purposes

La Salle's enterprises were chiefly commercial—that is to say—his labors were directed toward a development that would result in financial gain. He visioned the unlimited resources of the new country and had in mind their development.

Neither La Salle nor Frontenac nor the King were unmindful of the spiritual side of the enterprises in which they engaged, however. It was the invariable custom in all French undertakings to consider the spiritual interests, and accordingly, every expedition was accompanied by spiritual advisers and an important part of its object was the spreading of the Gospel. Accordingly La Salle's expedition was accompanied by three Recollect (Franciscan) priests, viz.: Gabriel de la Ribourde, Zenobe Membre and Louis Hennepin, who each figured conspicuously in the journey.

After the departure of the *Griffon*, La Salle and his party, about forty in number, in canoes pushed down the Wisconsin side of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph River, proceeded up stream in the St. Joseph to a point where that river approaches the Kankakee,

and then carried their boats and goods to the Kankakee River where they embarked again and followed that river to its junction with the Illinois, and thence down the Illinois.

La Salle's First Trip Through Illinois

The party stopped at the site of Marquette's Mission on the first of January, 1680. Since Father Marquette had left, two or three other Jesuit Missionaries had visited and remained in the place for a longer or shorter period. Father Claude Jean Allouez, S. J., who was among the Miami Indians in the Northwestern part of what is now Indiana, was the first after Marquette to visit the newly created mission and the next was Father Sebastien Rale, S. J. During these years these two great Jesuits had made much progress amongst the Indians, as will be seen as this narrative proceeds, but when La Salle arrived at the village of the Kaskaskias, he found the place entirely deserted. It was the Indian custom to change their place of residence with the seasons, and at this particular time they had migrated down the river. Being short of provisions, La Salle's party was much disappointed that they were unable to secure food from the Indians as they had hoped, but casting about they found the *caches* in which the Indians stored their corn, from which they took a supply.

Re-embarking, the party pushed on down the Illinois, and on the fourth day of January, 1680, while passing through the enlargement of the river, afterwards known as Peoria Lake, found themselves confronted on both sides of the water with Indians armed with bows and arrows, and presenting a rather warlike attitude. The canoes were immediately drawn up in a posture of defense, and La Salle's party prepared their weapons for a conflict. La Salle made signs of friendship to the Indians and presently entered into conference and the party was permitted to land. Upon inquiry it was found that the party of Indians they had come upon were of the Kaskaskia tribe whose home they had passed through a few days before. La Salle advised them of his plight in reference to food, told them of taking corn from their store and compensated liberally for it.

Fort Crève Cœur Established

Here La Salle determined to build a fort and establish a settlement. Accordingly, all hands were set to work, and besides erecting a fort of considerable pretensions, the building of another ship was undertaken. Here too La Salle determined to await news of the *Griffon* which he calculated would soon reach lower Lake Michigan.

For a considerable period, running into months, the building of the fort and the ship continued, and news of the Griffon was daily expected, but as time wore on and no word came, La Salle began to have misgivings as to its fate, and these grew until it is thought a conviction of disaster had settled upon him. Some writers say that it was on account of his belief that the *Griffon* had been lost and his fortunes thus impaired that he gave to the fort the name of Crève Cœur, meaning "broken heart." It may here be noted that the fate of the *Griffon* remains unknown to the present. The loss of the goods was disastrous to La Salle, but as will be seen, did not crush him.

The fort at Peoria was completed and the ship almost finished, but as some of the parts necessary to the ship were to be brought from the St. Lawrence, further progress was impossible. In addition, the men were much dissatisfied and had not fully recovered the confidence in the voyage and in the leader which had been shaken by enemies of La Salle whose emissaries came to the Indian camp on the very first night of the arrival of La Salle's party. Something must be done, and La Salle, man of action that he was, laid out his plans. Tonti and the Recollect Fathers Ribourde and Membre were to remain at the fort for the present, but Tonti was to view the site of the Big Rock and consider the building of a fort there. Father Hennepin was directed in company with two Frenchmen to row down the Illinois to the Mississippi and up the Mississippi on a voyage of exploration.

As for La Salle himself, he determined to retrace his steps, learn if possible the fate of the Griffon and endeavor to get further financial support for his undertaking.

La Salle Returns to Fort Frontenac

Following La Salle, we learn of a most trying journey to Fort Frontenac, one thousand miles distant, requiring sixty-five days, and described as "the most arduous journey ever made by Frenchmen in America." In this lonely journey, La Salle's physical energies, which were apparently excelled only by his mental capacity, were taxed to the utmost, but his indomitable spirit could not be conquered, and though suffering from every privation, he finally reached Fort Frontenac on May 6, 1680.

Even before reaching Fort Frontenac, as he stopped at Niagara where he had left some of his men when he started on his journey in the previous autumn, he was greeted with disastrous news. He had not only lost the *Griffon* and her cargo worth ten thousand pounds,

but a ship from France containing his goods worth more than twenty-two thousand livres had been wrecked at the mouth of the St. Lawrence and was a total loss. Of twenty men from Europe engaged to join him some had been detained by his enemy, the Intendant Duchesneau, and all but four of the others, being told that La Salle was dead, had left for Europe again. His agents had plundered him; his creditors had seized his property, and several of his canoes, richly laden, had been lost in the rapids of the St. Lawrence.

Despite all these misfortunes and the machinations of his enemies he repaired to Montreal and succeeded within a week in getting the supplies he required and needful help for his party in the Illinois country.

Misfortunes Accumulate

On his return from Montreal to Fort Frontenac he received more disheartening information in the form of a letter from Tonti advising him that soon after his departure from Fort Crève Cœur all but a few of the men deserted after destroying the fort, plundering the magazine and throwing all the arms, goods and stores into the river. After leaving Fort Crève Cœur the deserters had destroyed the fort on the St. Joseph, seized a store of furs belonging to La Salle at Michilimackinac and plundered the magazine at Niagara.

La Salle quickly took steps to round up and punish the derelicts, but he was a ruined man and had to begin all over again. The story of this new beginning may be delayed while we gather up the details of the first journey of La Salle through Illinois and trace the activities of the others who were at Fort Crève Cœur with him.[2]

Hennepin's Account of La Salle's First Trip Through Illinois

Father Hennepin wrote a circumstantial account of this first voyage of La Salle through Illinois, which, as a description, has not been excelled, and which has never been doubted. That part of it dealing with Illinois is well worthy of reproduction here, even though in some instances it may overlap the above narrative.

An Account of Our Embarkment at the Head of the River of the Illinois

This River is navigable within a hundred Paces from its source; I mean for Canou's of Bark of Trees, and not for others; but it increases so much a little way from thence, that it is as deep and broad as the *Meuse* and *Sambre* joined

[2] Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 183 et seq.

together. It runs through vast Marshes, and though it be rapid enough, it makes so many turnings and windings, that after a whole day's journey, we found we were hardly two leagues from the place we left in the morning. That country is nothing but marshes full of alder trees and rushes; and we could have hardly found for forty leagues together, any place to plant our cabins, had it not been for the frost, which made the earth more firm and solid.

Having passed through great marshes, we found a vast plain on which nothing grows but only some herbs, which were dry at that time, and burnt, because the Miami's set them on fire every year, in their hunting wild bulls, as I shall mention anon. We found no manner of game, which was a great disappointment to us, our provisions beginning to fail. Our men traveled about sixty miles without killing anything else but a lean stag, a small wild goat, some few swans and two bustards, which was no sufficient maintenance for two and thirty men. Most of them were so weary of this laborious life, that they would have run away if possible, and gone to the savages, who were not very far from us, as we judged by the great fires we saw in the plain. There must be an innumerable quantity of wild bulls in that country, since the earth is covered with their horns. The Miami's hunt them towards the latter end of Autumn.

We continued our course upon this river very near the whole month of December; but toward the latter end of the said month, 1679, we arrived at the village of the Illinois, which lies near one hundred and thirty leagues from Fort Miamis, on the Lake of the Illinois. We suffered very much in this passage, for the savages having set the herbs of the plain on fire, the wild bulls were fled away, and so we could kill but one and some turkey-cocks. God's Providence supported us all the while; and when we thought that the extremities we were reduced to were past all hopes of remedy, we found a prodigious wild bull lying flat in the mud of the river. We killed him and had much ado to get him out of the mud. This was a great refreshment to our men, and revived their courage; for being so timely and unexpectedly relieved, they concluded that God approved our design.[3]

An Account of Our Arrival to the Country of the Illinois, One of the Most Numerous of the Savages of America

This word Illinois comes, as it has already been observed, from Illini, which in the language of that nation signifies *A perfect and accomplished man.* The villages of the Illinois are located in a marshy plain, about the fortieth degree of latitude on the right side of the river, which is as broad as the *Meuse.* Their greatest village may have in it four or five hundred cabins, every cabin five or six fires, and each fire one or two families who live together in great concord. Their cabins are covered with mats of flat rushes so closely sewed together that no wind, rain or snow can go through it. The union that reigns amongst that barbarous people, ought to cover with shame the Christians; amongst whom we can see no trace of that brotherly love which united the primitive professors of Christianity.

When the Savages have gathered in their Indian corn, they dig some holes in the ground, where they keep it for summer-time, because meat does not keep in hot weather; whereas they have very little occasion for it in winter; and it

[3] Thwaites: *Discovery of a Vast Country in America,* pp. 145-146.

is then their custom to leave their villages and with their whole families to go a hunting wild bulls, beavers, etc., carrying with them but a small quantity of their corn, which however they value so much that the most sensible wrong one can do them, in their opinion, is to take some of their corn in their absence. We found nobody in the village, as we had forseen, for the Illinois had divided themselves, according to their custom, and were gone a hunting. Their absence caused a great perplexity amongst us, for we wanted provisions, and yet durst not meddle with the Indian corn the Savages had laid under ground for their subsistence and to sow their lands with. However, our necessity being very great, and it being impossible to continue our voyage without any provisions, especially seeing the bulls and other beasts had been driven from the banks of the river, by means of fires, as I have related in my former chapter, M. la Salle resolved to take about forty bushels of corn, in hopes to appease the savages with some presents.

We embarked again with these fresh provisions, and continued to fall down the river which runs directly to the South. Four days after, being the first of January 1680, we said Mass, and having wished a happy New Year to M. la Salle, and to all others, I thought fit to make a pathetical exhortation to our grumblers, to encourage them to go on cheerfully and inspire them with union and concord. Father Gabriel Zenobe and I embraced them afterwards, and they promised us to continue firm in their duty. The same day we went through a lake formed by the river, about seven leagues long and one broad. The Savages call that place *Pimiteoui*; that is, in their tongue, *A place where there is abundance of fat beasts.* When the river of the Illinois freezes, which is but seldom, it freezes only to this lake, and never from thence to the Mississippi, into which this river falls. M. la Salle observed here the elevation of the pole, and found that this lake lies in the latitude of thirty-three degrees and forty-five minutes.

We had been informed that the Illinois were our enemies, and therefore M. la Salle had resolved to use all manner of precaution when we should meet with them; but we found ourselves on a sudden in the middle of their camp, which took up both sides of the river. M. la Salle ordered immediately his men to make their arms ready, and brought his canoes into a line, placing himself to the right, and M. Tonti to the left; so that we took almost the whole breadth of the river. The Illinois, who had not yet discovered our fleet, were very much surprised to see us coming so swiftly upon them; for the stream was extraordinarily rapid in that place: some ran to their arms, but most took their flight with horrid cries and howlings.

The current brought us in the meantime to their camp, and M. la Salle went the very first ashore, followed by his men; which increased the consternation of the savages whom we might have easily defeated, but as it was not our design, we made a halt to give them time to recover themselves and see that we were no enemies. M. la Salle might have prevented their confusion by showing his Calumet or Pipe of Peace, but he was afraid the Savages would impute it to our weakness.

The Illinois being exceedingly terrified, though they were several thousand men, tendered us the Calumet of Peace, and then we offered them ours, which being accepted on both sides, an extraordinary joy succeeded the terrible fears they had been under upon our landing. They sent immediately to fetch back those who fled away, and Father Zenobe and I went to their cabins. We took their children by the hand, and expressed our love for them with all the signs

we could. We did the like to the old men, having compassion of those poor creatures who are so miserable as to be ignorant of their Creator and Redeemer.

Most of the Savages who had run away upon our landing, understanding that we were French, returned; but some others had been so terrified that they did not come back till three or four days after that they had been told that we had smoked in their Calumet of Peace. In the meantime we had discoursed the Chiefs of the Illinois by our interpreter, and told them that we were inhabitants of Canada and their friends; that we were come to teach them the knowledge of the Captain of Heaven and earth, with several other things relating to their advantage. We were forced to make use of these metaphorical expressions to give them some idea of the Supreme Deity. They heard our discourses with great attention, and afterwards gave a great shout of joy, repeating these words: *Tepatoui-Nika*; that is, *Well, my Brother, my friend; thou hast done very well.* These Savages have more humanity than all the others of the Northern America; and understanding the subject of our errand, expressed great gratitude thereupon. They rubbed our legs and feet near the fire with oil of bears and wild bulls' fat, which, after much travel, is an incomparable refreshment; and presented us some flesh to eat, putting the three first morsels into our moths with great ceremonies. This is a great piece of civility amongst them.

M. la Salle presented them with some tobacco from *Martinico*, and some axes; and told them that he had desired them to meet to treat about some weighty matters; but that there was one in particular which he would discourse them upon before any other. He added that he knew how necessary their corn was to them, but that being reduced to an unspeakable necessity when he came to their village, and feeling no probability to subsist, he had been forced to take some corn from their habitations without their leave: That he would give them axes and other things in lieu of it, if they could spare it; that if they could not, they were free to take it again, concluding, that if they were not able to supply us with provisions, he designed to continue his voyage and go to their neighbours who would heartily give him what was necessary for his subsistence; but however, to show them his kindness he would leave a smith among them to mend their axes and other tools we should supply them with. The Savages having considered our proposals, granted all our demands and made alliance with us.

We were obliged to use many precautions to make our alliance lasting and solid, because our enemies did their utmost to prevent it. The very same day we came to the camp of the Illinois, one of the Chief Captains of the *Mascoutens*, whose name was *Monfo*, arrived also with some *Miami's*, and other young men, who brought with them some axes, knives, kettles and other goods. Our enemies had chosen him for that embassie, knowing that the Illinois would rather believe him than the *Miami's*, because they had never been in war with the *Mascoutens*. This Savage arrived pretty late, and caballed all the night long against us: He told them that M. la Salle was a great friend of the *Iroquese*, who were to follow him speedily with some of the Europeans from Canada to invade them, and destroy their nation; and that he was sent by some of the Europeans themselves who could not approve that treachery of their countrymen to give them notice thereof, that they might not be surprised. He enforced his arguments by presenting them with all the goods he had brought along with him; and thinking he had gained his point, went back the same night, fearing with much reason, that M. la Salle would resent that masterpiece of villainy and punish him for it.

The Illinois were assembled in council all the night (for they never treat of any secret affairs during the day), and did not know what measures to take; for though they did not believe all the stories the *Mascouten* had made unto them, yet the next day they appeared very indifferent and mistrustful of us. As they seemed to contrive something against us, we began to be uneasy; but M. la Salle, who suspected that their sudden alteration towards us was the effect of a false report, made such presents to one of their chiefs that he told him all the particulars of the embassie and negotiations of Monfo; and thereby enabled him to remove the jealousies of the Illinois, and confound the wicked designs of our enemies.

He managed that point with such dexterity, that he did not only regain the friendship of that nation, but likewise undeceived the *Mascouten* and *Miamis*, and was mediator between the latter and the Illinois, who by his means made an alliance which lasted all the while we remained in those countries.[4]

An Account of What Happened to Us While We Remained Among the Illinois Till the Building of a New Fort

Some days after, Nikanape, brother to Chessagouasse, the most considerable chief of the Illinois, who was then absent, invited us to a great feast, and before we sat down to eat, made a long speech, very different from what the other captains had told us upon our arrival. He said that he had invited us not so much to give us a treat, as to endeavour to dissuade us from the resolution we had taken, to go down to the sea by the great river Mississippi. He added that several had perished, having ventured upon the same enterprise, the banks of that river being inhabited by barbarous and bloody nations, whom we should be unable to resist, notwithstanding our valour and the goodness of our arms; that that river was full of dangerous monsters, as crocodiles, tritons (meaning sea-monsters), and serpents; that supposing the barque we designed to build was big enough to protect us against the dangers he had mentioned, yet it would avail us nothing against another which was inevitable: For, said he, the river Mississippi is so full of rocks and falls towards it mouth, which will carry your barque into a horrid whirlpool, that swallows up everything that comes near it; and even the river itself, which appears no more, losing itself in that hideous and bottomless Gulf.

He added so many other circumstances, and appeared so serious, and so much concerned for us, that two of our men who understood their language but not their politics, were moved at it, and their fear appeared in their faces. We observed it, but could not help it; for it would be an unpardonable affront to interrupt a Savage; and besides, we had perhaps increased the alarms of our men. When Nikanape had made an end of his discourse, we answered him in so calm a manner, that he could not fancy we were surprised at his objections against our voyage.

Our interpreter told him, by order of M. la Salle, that we were much obliged to him for the advices he gave us; but that the difficulties and dangers he had mentioned, would make our enterprise still more glorious; that we feared the Master of the life of all men, who ruled the sea and all the world; and therefore would think it a happiness to lay down our lives to make his name known to all

[4] Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America,* pp. 153-59.

his creatures. We added that we believed that most of the dangers he mentioned were not in being; but that the friendship he had for us, had put him upon that invention, to oblige us to remain with them. We thought fit, however, to let him know that we perceived our enemies had fomented some jealousies in their mind, and that they seemed to mistrust our designs; but as we were sincere in our dealings, we desired them to let us know freely and without any disguise, the grounds of their suspicions, that we might satisfy them and clear ourselves; concluding, that seeing our demand was so just and equitable, we expected they would grant it, or else that we should have reason to think that the joy they had expressed upon our arrival, and the friendship they had since shown to us was nothing but a deceit and dissimulation. Nikanape was not able to answer us, and therefore changed his discourse, desiring us to eat.

The dinner being over, our interpreter reassumed his discourse, and told the company that we were not surprised at the envy their neighbors expressed about our arrival into their country, because they knew too well the advantages of commerce, and therefore would engross it to themselves and obstruct by all means our good correspondence; but that we wondered that they would give ear to the suggestions of our common enemies and conceal anything from us, since we had so sincerely acquainted them with our designs.

We did not sleep, brother, said he, directing his discourse to Nikanape, when Monfo was caballing amongst you in the night to our prejudice, endeavouring to make you believe that we were spies of the Iroquois. The presents he made to enforce his lies are still hidden in this cabin. But why has he run away immediately after, instead of appearing publicly to justify his accusation? Thou art a witness thyself, that upon our landing we might have killed all thy nephews and done what our enemies tell you we design to do, after we have made alliance with thee, and settled ourselves amongst you. But if you were our design, why should we defer to put it into execution? And who hinders our warriors who are here with me to kill all of you whilst your young men are hunting? Thou hast been told that our valour is terrible to the Iroquois themselves;; and therefore we need not their assistance to wage war with thee if it were our design.

But to remove even the least pretence of suspicion and jealousy, send somebody to bring back that malicious accuser, and we will stay here to confute him in their presence: For how can he know us, seeing he never saw us in his life? And how can he be acquainted with the secret league we have made with the Iroquois whom he knows only by name? Consider our equipage; we have nothing but tools and goods which can never be made use of, but for the good of the nation, and not for its destruction, as our enemies would make thee believe.

This discourse moved them very much; and they sent after Monfo to bring him back; but the snow which fell that night spoiled the track, and so he could not be overtaken. He had remained for some days not far from us to know what would be the success of his embassie. However, some of our men lay under such terrible apprehension, that we could not recover their courage nor remove their fears; so that six of them who had the guard that night (amongst which were two sawers, the most necessary of our workmen for building our ship) ran away, taking with them what they thought necessary; but considering the country through which they were to travel, and the season of the year, we may say, that for avoiding an uncertain peril, they exposed themselves to a most certain death.

M. la Salle seeing that those six men were gone, and fearing that this desertion would make a disadvantageous impression upon the savages, he ordered his men to tell the Illinois that he had resolved to send after them to punish them as they deserved; but that the season being so hard, he was loth to expose his men; and that these deserters would be severely punished in Canada. In the meantime, we exhorted the rest to continue firm in their duty, assuring them that if any were afraid of venturing themselves upon the river Mississippi because of the dangers Nikanape had mentioned, M. la Salle would give them leave to return next Spring to Canada, and allow them a Canoe to make their voyage; whereas they could not venture to return home at this time of the year, without exposing themselves to perish with hunger, cold, or the hands of the Savages.

They promised wonders; but M. la Salle knowing their inconstancy, and dissembling the vexation their want of courage and resolution caused him, resolved to prevent any further subordination and to leave the camp of the Illinois; but lest his men should not consent to it, he called them together and told them we were not safe among the Illinois, and that perhaps the Iroquois would come in a little time to attack them; and that these being not able to resist, they were like to run away and betake themselves to the woods and leave us exposed to the mercy of the Iroquois, whose cruelty was sufficiently known to us; therefore he knew no other remedy but to fortify a post where we might defend ourselves both against the Illinois and the Iroquois, as occasion should require. These reasons, with some other arguments which I added to the same purpose, proved powerful enough to engage them to approve M. la Salle's design; and so it was resolved to build a fort in a very advantageous place on the river, four days' journey below the great village of the Illinois.[5]

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, LL. D.

Chicago, Illinois.

[5] Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America,* pp. 160-165.

THE PURPOSE OF A CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Address delivered at the First Meeting of the Catholic Historical Society of Indiana, Gibault Hall, Terre Haute, Indiana, October 27th, 1926.)

If I may be allowed to begin my remarks in a somewhat personal note, I should like to say that coming as I do from St. Louis I cannot but feel a very particular interest in the purpose of this gathering. You are here to organize a Catholic Historical Society of Indiana. The venture must necessarily stir the sympathy of one who is in any way familiar with the numerous points of historical contact between pioneer Catholic Indiana and the metropolis of Missouri. Let us indicate three. The first Mass in St. Louis was celebrated by the eighteenth-century Jesuit, Louis Sebastian Meurin, the same missionary who penned at Vincennes in 1749 the earliest existing church records in the diocese of Indianapolis. The first church in St. Louis was built and dedicated by Pierre Gibault, most widely known of all the Church's pioneer priests in Indiana. Finally, the first Catholic bishop of Indiana, that fascinating figure, William Simon Gabriel Bruté, received episcopal consecration in the old St. Louis Cathedral at the hands of the first Bishop of St. Louis, Joseph Rosati. In mentioning the name of the proto-bishop of Indiana, I mention a name of the happiest significance on an occasion like this. The ranks of the American Catholic hierarchy can show few if any prelates more historical-minded than was Simon Bruté. The heroic beginnings of the Church in America fired his imagination and stirred his emotions and over the pen-name "Vincennes" he wrote concerning them in the columns of the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati. His interest in the historical past of the territory he ruled over *in spiritualibus* often took a practical turn as when he wrote a letter still extant to the President of St. Louis University in which he made the suggestion that the site of the old Jesuit Mission at Peoria be suitably marked before all trace of it be lost to memory. It is, then, an inspiring circumstance which I recall on this occasion, namely that the first head of organized Catholicism in this state had himself the instincts and the tastes of the historian and almost a century ago actually took in hand, within the limits of his time and opportunities for research, the very task which you have made your own in this organization, the recording of the story of the Catholic Church in Indiana.

I have from your energetic Secretary the suggestion that I undertake to speak to you today chiefly on the purpose which a Catholic Historical Society and yours in particular is meant to serve and on the means to be employed to make that purpose a reality. If I may venture then to formulate the precise object which your society has in view, I should say that such object is three-fold, to wit, the collection, preservation and diffusion of facts bearing on the history of the Catholic Church in the State of Indiana. And, first, it may be noted that you propose to limit your field of interest and research by State boundaries. This is as it should be. It is only when the various sections of the country and even the individual dioceses shall have got together the necessary material for their respective chapters in the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States that such a *magnum opus* can be attempted with any promise of success. The adequate telling of the story of Catholic development in this land of ours must rest on a vast deal of first hand investigation and study by competent researchers working within the relatively narrow limits of diocesan history. The reason why Greek and Roman history can be treated satisfactorily today as broad historical units is because their main content of facts and incidents has been fixed with accuracy more or less complete, thanks to the labors of a long line of scholars specializing in particular problems in those two sections of the historical field. Apart, therefore, from the consideration that the history lying at one's own doors ought first to claim one's attention, as appealing to local or sectional pride, we are, in concentrating on Catholic diocesan or state history, providing the very best guarantee, as far as the matter depends on us, that the great epic theme of the historical upbuilding of American Catholicism will one day be fittingly set before the world.

I make here, however, one pertinent observation. The original boundaries of most, perhaps of all the pioneer dioceses of the United States were considerably more far-flung than they are today. The St. Louis diocese, to cite one instance, reached at the time of its erection from the Mississippi to the snow-capped heights of the Rockies and beyond. This circumstance was taken cognizance of by the St. Louis Catholic Historical Society which at its organization in 1916 announced as its field of interest the history of the Catholic Church in the entire range of territory to which the jurisdiction of the see of St. Louis has at any time extended. It was a quite just and logical point of view and no one could reasonably take exception to it. We find Catholic Indiana in similar case. The See of Vincennes from its erection in 1834 to the arrival of Bishop Quarter in Chicago in

1844 had jurisdiction not only over Indiana but also over the eastern half of Illinois. Thus it fell out that Chicago was for almost a decade under the spiritual rule of the Indiana See. The first episcopal visitation ever made of the struggling frontier town, which even then was working its way forward to its present estate of fourth city of the world, was made by Bishop Bruté, an informal account of this visitation which he wrote to a Maryland nun being not the least charming of the many charming letters that came from his pen. That ten-year period, therefore, during which Catholic Indiana projected itself, so to speak, into the eastern counties of a neighbouring state makes it impossible for the historian of Indiana Catholicism to limit his theme by diocesan boundaries as they exist today. The fact must not be lost sight of that the history of the Church in Chicago, to cite the instance of the great metropolis of the West, is a chapter in the history of the diocese of Vincennes.

We have said that the first effort of the Society must be to gather material and data pertaining to the history of the Church in Indiana. No adequate history is ever written without a body of reliable data on which to base it. Meagre, misleading, inaccurate data can issue only in badly written and untrustworthy history. Hence the need of patient, persevering, critical and often unduly extended research with all available sources of information in order that the truth of things may be ascertained and, within the limits of the evidence, confidently stated. Just the other day I read in a standard work of reference that the Bishop of Quebec lived at Kaskaskia whence he sent Father Gibault to Vincennes! Your society will see to it that the history of the Church in Indiana is told as it actually happened. But to do so it must first assemble the materials on which to work. These materials are of the most diversified character and lie in various directions. Printed works, pamphlets, periodicals, newspaper files, manuscript narratives, financial papers, official documents, church registers, letters. reminiscences, these are some of the forms which historical material will assume. The unprinted material may be available sometimes in an original form, sometimes in copy. Generally the sources to be examined are not found together in any one place but are scattered in various libraries, archives and private collections located in different cities and states and sometimes at most unduly separated points in the country. Let me illustrate by the instance of Bishop Bruté. The first-hand material available for a biography of this great churchman is abundant enough, but one has to go here and there to find it. In the St. Louis archdiocesan archives 138 of his letters are preserved. Other letters of his are in the possession of

St. Louis and Notre Dame Universities. Still others are to be found in the Baltimore archdiocesan archives, at Georgetown University and in the Government Indian Office at Washington. These letters, however, do not by any means represent all the Bruté unpublished correspondence which is still extant in various archival depositaries throughout the world and which the future biographer of the prelate must utilize. Without a doubt the Propaganda Archives in Rome and those of the French Association of the Propagation of the Faith also contain Bruté letters. Besides this unprinted correspondence, important letters of the great bishop may be read in the *Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph*, the *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* and in the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, the last named being the organ of the Vienna Association for the Propagation of the Faith. A set of the *Berichte*, only two or three such sets being found in the United States, is in the possession of the Catholic Central Verein of St. Louis. I have mentioned the foregoing details merely to indicate the great diversity of sources from which material must be collected for an adequate biography of Bishop Bruté, which is also and necessarily the first chapter in the history of organized Catholicism in Indiana. I dare say the Catholic Historical Society of Indiana could not inaugurate its labors in any more profitable manner than by securing accurate transcripts of Bishop Bruté's very extensive correspondence.

In thus gathering the raw materials for Indiana Catholic history the collection of accurate data for parish histories will not be overlooked. Parochial units make up the diocese and while the general upgrowth of the diocese may sometimes be traced without reference to the parishes, this will not ordinarily be the case. No diocesan historian can do his work properly without reliable information at hand regarding the organization and growth of the individual parishes and covering such points as the erection of churches, schools, other parochial buildings, the succession of pastors, and noteworthy parochial events occurring during their respective incumbencies. Here is where the Society will be particularly eager to enlist the services of the pastors. No one practical or more noteworthy contribution can be made by them to the cause which the Society is meant to promote than to draw up with painstaking accuracy especially as to dates an historical account of the parish in their charge, not omitting to indicate the part, always important, played therein by the laity. It is, after all, on the stage of parish life and not within the walls of a diocesan chancery that the most palpable contacts are made between the faithful and the Faith they profess. It is only by seeing a well-

organized parish at work with all its activities, religious, educational, charitable and social in full operation that one comes to understand what Catholicism stands for in the life of the people. Cardinal Gasquet in his *Parish Life of Medieval England* has given us a clue to the mentality of the Middle Ages, probably much more effective than we shall find it in a score of more pretentious works attempting to throw light on that fascinating period of history. And so, as Green gave to kings, noblemen, statesmen and warriors less than their traditional amount of space on the historical stage that he might find room therein for the common folk of England, the historian of a Catholic diocese will not so clutter up his narrative with the movements and achievements of the clergy, however significant these may be, that the reactions of the laity to the ministrations of their spiritual guides and their splendid and historic co-operation in effecting the present-day development of the Church in America are left unrecorded. In reading the story of Catholic beginnings in any locality, one always finds interest stimulated when mention is made by name of families particularly identified with events and some evidence of their activity in this connection set forth.

As we are touching, however lightly, on the materials of history, let me direct attention for a moment to the great mass of manuscript material, chiefly in the form of original letters, on American Catholic Church history, now to be found at Notre Dame University. I should think it a happy presage of success for your Society that you have so close at hand and within the limits of your own State this great collection, second to none in the United States, probably superior to all others for richness and variety of content. The story of how the collection was begun many years ago by a lay-professor on the University staff, who conceived a big idea and had the zeal and courage to carry it out, is a familiar one and need not be repeated here. I wish merely to emphasize the significance of the Notre Dame Archives for the activities in which the Society propose to engage. The Catholic history of Indiana cannot be duly studied or written up without recourse to this great depositary of invaluable first-hand material lying, as I have said, within convenient and easy reach of all Indianans.

The first function, then, of the Society here organizing will be to assemble from whatever sources all available material for the history of the Church in Indiana. Its second function will be to preserve the material so assembled. Here we are confronted with the necessity of a permanent headquarters for the Society with housing facilities

for library and archives. Obviously the collection of books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, manuscripts, etc., which the Society will endeavor to build up cannot be moved about but must be tied down to a definite location. Moreover, the collection must be made accessible to investigators and writers. Not only will the Society thus furnish facilities for research in its particular field, but it will at the same time provide a safe depositary for historical material now exposed to damage or loss. Numerous instances that should serve as warnings are on record of how valuable church papers, known at one time to have existed, have disappeared or been destroyed. I mention but two. When the Federal troops occupied New Orleans during the Civil War valuable diocesan papers including those of Bishop Du Bourg were removed for safe-keeping to a fireplace, the opening being walled up. When the fireplace was subsequently uncovered the papers were found to be a mass of pulp, owing to the rain that came down the chimney, which, curiously enough, no one thought of blocking up! Again, Bishop Flaget's Journals, were they now available, would constitute a most important source for early Catholic history in Indiana, for he held jurisdiction over this state or the pre-existing territory for some twenty-five ears and was the first bishop to administer Confirmation within its limits. These Journals, however, though extant some time after the Bishop's death, have long since disappeared except for a few sections. Similar instances of the loss of precious historical documents through one cause or another might be mentioned, all going to show the necessity of central depositaries to which such material can be removed for safe-keeping.

I made reference only a moment ago to the reminiscences of old times as a recognized source of historical information. A pastor who undertakes to write the history of his parish may find it necessary to go to his oldest living parishioners for enlightenment on points which he finds either not dealt with at all or dealt with unsatisfactorily in the printed or written sources at his command. Testimony from this source, I need not say, must be used with caution. The memory of the oldest inhabitant is proverbially a tricky one so that one may not accept too confidently information which has no other support than this on which to rest. The rules of evidence must be applied. History is largely a matter of evaluating human testimony, often conflicting testimony, on a given point. So with the recollections of past days furnished by pioneers. Criticism will show them to be of varying degrees of credibility. At times, especially when checked up and corroborated from other sources, they may prove highly valuable; at other times they may be demonstrably of little or

no value at all. But with these reservations, the fact remains that the testimony of witnesses surviving long the events with which they were contemporary and perhaps more or less identified will always be sought after by the alert investigator in history. It is surprising, indeed, how little effort is made to secure in writing the recollections of pioneer settlers regarding Catholic Church events before death intervenes to consign these recollections to oblivion. As an instance of what can be done in this regard, I have in mind the instance of Lyman Copeland Draper of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who some decades ago traveled through the Western states systematically interviewing old settlers and recording the results in his note-books. He refused to write history himself, but preferred the task of saving for future historians this great mass of source-material, which but for his efforts must undoubtedly have perished. The Draper Notes, now in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society, are a recognized body of first-hand material, however unequal in value, for the pioneer history of the West. Why cannot our Catholic Historical Societies work along similar lines and secure from the rapidly disappearing generation of pioneers valuable data on Catholic Church history in America which will soon be altogether beyond recovery?

I come now to the third function or aim of an historical society, which is to disseminate information on the special section of the historical field which it proposes to make its own. This is done conveniently in one of two ways or in both, by the preparation of papers and the reading of the same at the society's meetings and by the issuing of a review. There seems to be no reason why a sufficient number of persons, lay and clerical, should not be got interested in this Society to the extent of investigating some or other point of Indiana Catholic history and presenting the results of such investigation in a written paper. Priests, nuns, seminarians, college students, the laity of both sexes should here lend a helping hand. I would plead particularly for a very intimate co-operation of the laity in this as in all of the Society's activities. Nothing would make more against its chances of success tha nto have it take on the character of a purely or even largely clerical enterprise. The Church's storied past in Indiana is the common heritage of all its members. Young and old, the children in the schools and the parents at home should be made to feel its inspiration and in wielding the instruments of publicity necessary to this end lay hands will be found as effective as clerical.

Written papers, therefore, I repeat, will be a normal feature of the Society's gatherings. It is by such topical contributions, monographs

one may properly call them, that individual obscure points in history, civil or ecclesiastical, are cleared up and the way thus prepared for the historian to deal successfully with his subject in its modern lines of development. We all know how many tempting problems in early Indiana history still exist to challenge the investigator. The very latest issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review carries the first appearance in print of the baptismal register of the historic St. Joseph Mission located close to the Michigan-Indiana state-line. The editor prefaces the documents with the statement that this mission stll awaits an historian. It is the truth. No adequate account of this highly interesting center of Christian influence in the Western wilderness, especially in its earlier stages, is anywhere available. We have, too, the case of Vincennes. Who has told us with anything like finality, when and under what circumstances this historic past began or who were its first visiting or resident priests? A haze of mystery still envelops Vincennes beginnings. Will further research ever enable us to dissipate it? No one can say yes with confidence, but, as a matter of fact, no thoroughgoing study of the problem, utilizing all available sources, has yet been made, though here I should prefer to speak under correction. To indicate only a single source in this connection which probably has not yet been drawn upon, there is the photostat material from the Paris archives now preserved in the Congressional Library and in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. This material to my knowledge contains documents which will probably shed new light on early Vincennes history. And so with other unwritten or only partially written chapters in the pioneer history of this state. It is too much to expect the general historian to investigate, much less to solve all problems by himself. The ground must be prepared before him by the special student and researcher who concentrates on one or more particular problems, solves them, as far as the evidence permits, and thus leaves the historian free to deal with his subject in its broader and more general implications.

But the mere reading of historical papers before a group of the Society's members will not alone achieve that diffusion of knowledge regarding the Catholic past of Indiana which rhe Society will endeavor to promote. Means must be found of insuring to these papers a wider range of publicity. This may be done, among other ways, by publishing them in the Catholic weeklies of the State or by issuing them in pamphlet form or finally by giving them space in the Society's own official organ or review. Most, if not all, of the Catholic historical societies of the United States sponsor a review or periodical

of some kind, in most cases a quarterly. I rather think an historical society should think twice before committing itself at the outset to a review, at least one that promises its readers regularity of appearance. Financial considerations should of course be duly weighed before embarking on such a venture; but I think that in most cases the difficulty of maintaining a review rises not so much from a lack of funds to meet the expense incurred as from a dearth of suitable copy for publication. For this reason it may be the part of wisdom to defer the issuing of a review until such time as the Society shall have accumulated a line of original contributions from its members on topics falling under the scope of the review. Meantime, the pages of other periodicals, in particular the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, which is eager to obtain articles from any quarter of the Middle West, will be open for such products of the Society's literary industry as it may be thought advisable to bring immediately to public notice. And here it will be pertinent to point out that an historical review ought not to rely for copy only on original articles or contributions; it must also find room in its pages for the publication of documents, letters, church records and such like unprinted material as may likely be of service to the historian. I have already referred to the extensive Bruté correspondence to be found in various archives throughout the country. Selections from this correspondence would obviously make excellent copy for the Society's review, whenever it is ready to bring it forth. As to church records, I may note in passing that the eighteenth-century Vincennes registers have already been published in the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society while the St. Joseph Mission register has only within the last few months been rescued from the obscurity of the Quebec Seminary archives and made accessible in printed form. But other Indiana church records of value, I am sure, still await publication, a thing which can be effected nowhere with more propriety than in the Society's own review.

To sum up, I have indicated, however briefly, the deliberate aims which the Catholic Historical Society of Indiana has chosen to set before itself as it starts out briefly on its career; and these aims, to repeat once more so important a matter, are threefold, to collect the materials for Indiana Catholic history, to house them securely and preserve them permanently in a place where they may be at the service of students and investigators, and, finally, to build eventually on the materials so assembled an adequate written record of the Church's glorious past in Indiana and secure for this record the widest possible publicity. Let me venture now to reduce these

various aims to the unity of a single objective on which all the energies of the Society for several years to come may be very properly concentrate. This objective will be no other than the compilation under the Society's auspices of a scholarly history of the Catholic Church in Indiana to mark the centennial in 1934 of Bishop Bruté's arrival in the State. Let me cite by way of illustration the experience of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. This organization started on its carreer in the fall of 1916. It published a review. It carried on through certain of its members, each specializing more or less in a chosen corner of the Society's field of interest, researches which were occupied in clearing up not a few obscure points in diocesan history and in getting together a mass of accurate data on which the future historian of the diocese might draw in the compilation of his narrative. Ten years later than the birth of the Society, this current year 1926, the diocese of St. Louis celebrated the hundredth anniversary of its erection and to commemorate the event an elaborate history of the diocese is now being prepared by the competent hands of one of our St. Louis pastors, the Reverend John Rothensteiner. The St. Louis Catholic Historical Society did not, I am sure start out with the conscious purpose of making its labors converge in the preparation of a centennial history of the diocese. It is circumstances rather that have brought about this happy issue. But the point I am particularly anxious to make is that the worthy author of the forthcoming St. Louis history, though not dispensed from the necessity of an immense amount of further research on his own account, has found his labors greatly facilitated by the special studies in diocesan history carried on in the past ten years by himself and his confreres of the Society. Is there not a lesson here for the Society whose organization you are effecting today? Eight years hence, as I have pointed out, will see the centennial of the organization of the Catholic Church in Indiana by the erection of the diocese of Vincennes. What better memorial of that centennial could be conceived than a scholarly and comprehensive history of Catholic Indiana and what better objective, as practical as it will be inspiring, could the Catholic Historical Society of the State propose to itself than to make such a history possible by a thorough-going study of the subject during the intervening years? Pastors by compiling parish chronicles, religious orders and congregations by furnishing historical data about their communities, students lay or clerical by investigating hitherto unsolved problems of the rench period or by preparing translations of pertinent material in foreign languages, and the members generally by putting at the

disposal of the Society whatever source-material, printed or unprinted, they happen to have in their possession, all can in one way or another make individual contributions to the great written record of Indiana's Catholic past which I make bold to envisage as the conscious objective of the Society's activities during the next eight years.

I end these remarks with a word of congratulation to the Catholic Historical Society of Indiana on having so inspiring a subject-matter with which to deal. Here in Indiana, if anywhere in the land, the historical record of the Catholic Church is a thing to point to with pride. Her presence consecrated territory from the first moment that white men began to thread its virgin forests or be borne upon the bosom of its romantic streams. The valleys of the Kankakee, the St. Joseph, the Maumee and the Wabash perhaps knew no earlier visitors than the black-robed missionaries carrying into the wilderness the double light of civilization and the Faith. Catholic associations are thrown around all the pioneer settlements of the State. Almost the first, if not the very first pages in the recorded history of Vincennes, Lafayette, Fort Wayne and South Bend recount the activities of the Church's missionaries. To gather up everything that pertains to this enthralling story from its earliest to its latest chapter, to preserve it, to get it out in attractive and enduring form, for public enlightenment and edification, such will be at once the self-imposed duty and the glorious privilege of the Catholic Historical Society of Indiana.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

St. Louis.

THE EARLY IRISH OF ILLINOIS

A Paper Read by Judge John P. McGoorty before the Illinois State Historical Society, at Springfield, Illinois, on May 12, 1927.

Men of the Irish race played an important part in the history of Illinois.

Even during the French occupation it was an Irishman who commanded the Illinois country, vested with almost vice regal power, in the name of King Louis of France. He was known as Chevalier Charles MacCarthy. He was born in Ireland in 1706 and was there known as "MacCarthy MacTaig," which means literally, "MacCarthy, the son of Taig or Thaddeus." He was an officer in the French army, and in 1731 was sent to Louisiana in charge of a detachment of engineers. On the 20th of August, 1751, MacCarthy sailed from New Orleans with a small military force to take command of and rebuild Fort Chartres. They arrived at Fort Chartres on March 28, 1752, and from that time until 1760 Chevalier MacCarthy was in command of all the French troops in the Illinois country. When, under his direction, Fort Chartres was rebuilt, it was regarded as the best fort in America. In 1757, when it was reported that the English contemplated descending the Tennessee River for the purpose of attacking the French posts on the Mississippi, MacCarthy sent Lieutenant Aubry to construct a fort on the Ohio River, which he named Fort Asencion "as a memorial of the day on which the first stone was laid"; but in history it became known as Fort Massac. As a result of the protection afforded by the proximity of Fort Chartres, numerous villages and settlements sprang up on both sides of the Mississippi River. "Most of the people were French Catholics, and here the Jesuit Missionaries established churches and schools, and under the administration of the popular Franco-Irish Governor, the settlements thrived and the people lived in peace with their Indian neighbors." In 1760 MacCarthy was succeeded in the command of Fort Chartres by Captain de Villiers, and thereafter he continued as the head of the civil and military government of the territory until the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, when France surrendered to England all her territory east of the Mississippi. After the war MacCarthy retired to Point Coupee, in the lower Mississippi Valley, west of the river, which territory still remained in the possession of the French. Here he established himself as a trader and gentleman, and seems

also to have been commander of the fort. He died at New Orleans April 20, 1764 and was buried with military honors. In the same year the French Government conferred upon MacCarthy the posthumous honor of the Cross of St. Louis "as a reward for his fidelity and services." (See *The MacCarthys of America,* by Michael J. O'Brien.

Although the British were constructively in possession of the ceded territory, yet for two years thereafter the Indians, under the leadership of the mighty Pontiac, frustrated the repeated efforts of the British to occupy Fort Chartres and the Illinois country. It was due to the diplomacy and tact of Colonel George Croghan, a countryman of MacCarthy, that the British, through negotiations with Pontiac, conducted by Croghan, finally, in 1765, obtained possession. George Croghan was born in County Sligo, Ireland. He was a man of remarkable personality and was referred to "as the fitted person in America" for the undertaking. It is of some interest to note that Sir William Johnson, the Colonial Governor of Indian Affairs, under whose direction Croghan acted, was a native of Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, and was of the ancient Irish family of McShane. Colonel Croghan was not the last of his line to distinguish his name in this country. His family and that of General George Rogers Clark intermarried and, a direct descendant of Colonel Croghan and of the Clarks by such marriage, Colonel George Croghan became one of the most heroic figures of the War of 1812. Croghan was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel for gallant conduct in defending Fort Stephenson, commended by Congress for bravery, and Croghan and Joseph Duncan, who became the fifth Governor of Illinois, were each presented by Congress with a sword.

Hugh Crawford, according to his own statement, must have been the first Irishman that traveled about the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. He claims to have made trading trips on the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1739. He was associated in trade with Colonel George Croghan and took an active part in the negotiations with Pontiac. Crawford made a trip to the Western country in the interest of George Washington with a view to land investments. He died in 1770.

After the Treaty of Paris and the cession of New France to England, Guy Carlton, an Irishman, became the Governor under the English Crown. After Colonel George Croghan succeeded in securing the possession stipulated for in the treaty, the 18th, or Royal Regiment of Ireland, garrisoned the forts in the Illinois country until a local militia force was organized under the command of Captain

Richard McCarthy, who later made a brilliant record under George Rogers Clark.

The conquest of the Illinois territory from the British, one of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution, was carried out by Colonel George Rogers Clark.[1]

Clark's army, made up chiefly from the country west of the Alleghany Mountains, consisted largely of men of Irish blood. The muster-rolls of his companies are replete with old Irish names. William H. English, author of the *Conquest of the Northwest Territory,* says: "Had it not been for the Irish in Clark's command, the latter would never have whipped the British and Indians; the Irish, fresh from persecutions in the Old Country, were very bitter against the English and were of great help to Clark." In his own written account of the expedition, Colonel Clark mentioned among his valued officers Captains McCarty, Quirk, Carney, O'Hara, "Captain Montgomery, a gallant Irishman," and Lieutenant Dalton.

When Clark planned the conquest of Vincennes, he organized two companies of troops—one at Kaskaskia, the other at Cahokia. The company from Cahokia was placed under the command of Captain Richard McCarty, who gallantly led them in their most trying march to Vincennes. McCarthy remained in command of the troops after the country came under the possession of Virginia. He recruited the

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[1] Clark's ancestry remains in some doubt. William H. English, in his *Conquest of the Northwest,* says: "The history of the remote ancestry of George Rogers Clark on the father's side is meager, vague and unsatisfactory. Back of his grandfather is only tradition; but this tradition seems clear and positive that his paternal ancestor, who first came to this country, emigrated from England, and that his name was John. From what part of England this John Clark came, or who were his ancestors there is no reliable information." Temple Bodley, the most recent biographer of George Rogers Clark (1926), says: "It is almost impossible to trace the remote ancestry of one bearing a name common to so many families as Clark. Of the European forbears of the family we only know that their surname shows them English." That the foregoing conclusion is not warranted is shown by the fact that many Irish families bear the name of Clark or Clarke. In the reigns of the Henrys and Edwards of England, many penal acts of Parliament were passed compelling the ancient Irish families to adopt English surnames; notably the act of Edward IV. The name of O'Clery was changed to "Clark," for in the Irish language O'Clery means literally the "grandson of a clerk." MacRory became "Rogers," because Roger was assumed to be the English Christian name corresponding to the Irish "Rory." The Scotch-Irish Society claims that he is of Ulster blood. McDougal says in his *Scots and Scots' Descendants in America* (Vol. I, p. 54): "John Clark, great-grandfather of General George Rogers Clark, came to Virginia in 1630 from the southwestern part of Scotland." Gray, however, in his *Scotch-Irish in America,* says: "Clark was the son of an Irishman."

troops at his own expense on the promise that he would be repaid, which promise was not fulfilled, and bore all the expense of maintaining them.

It is interesting to note that when Clark was given authority to make a conquest of the Northwest, Virginia had no money, but appealed to Oliver Pollock, who proved one of the greatest benefactors of America—justly called "the Morris of the West"—who, through his friend, Count Alexander O'Reilly, the Irish Governor of Cuba, obtained the credit necessary to prosecute Clark's campaign. Oliver Pollock of New Orleans was not only a distinguished Irishman, but such an enthusiastic supporter of the American cause as to advance many thousands of dollars of his own funds for its success. He was the son of Jared Pollock, who moved from Coleraine, Ireland, to Pennsylvania.[2]

The name of John Todd is inseparably connected with the history of Illinois. It will be remembered that the conquest of the Illinois country was not for the United States, but for Virginia, which claimed all of the vast territory north and west of the Ohio River. John Todd was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the military forces and also civil commandant of the county. His appointment came from Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, another Irishman. It has been attempted to show that Patrick Henry was not Irish. The ancestral home of his family is at Tuba More, near Draperston, County Derry, Ireland, where representatives of the family still live. Patrick Henry's letter accompanying the appointment is a splended exposition of this great revolutionary patriot's ideas upon government. Governor Henry's instructions were, in a sense, the basic law for the territory during the Virginia period. Upon Todd's arrival in Kaskaskia in 1779, the inhabitants were assembled and elections held for judges of the courts established. As this was virtually the foundation of self-government in Illinois, the meeting has special significance. After the election the court was completed by the appointment of a

[2] Temple Bodley, in his recent history, *George Rogers Clark, His Life and Public Service*, p. 78, says: "Two weeks after taking Kaskaskia, Clark opened correspondence with a man to whom Americans should be forever grateful. This was Oliver Pollock, the financial agent in New Orleans for both Virginia and Congress. An Irish Catholic, he was one of those big-minded and big-hearted men who realized the transcendent importance of the American struggle for liberty and national greatness, and was animated by an ardent patriotism which, reckless of self-interest, gladly made any personal sacrifice demanded for his country. His services in upholding the Revolution in the west were invaluable. That such a man should be almost wholly unknown to the nation he served so well is hardly creditable to American history."

sheriff, state's attorney and clerk of the court. Thus began popular government, according to the American form, on the soil of Illinois. Courts were also established at Cahokia and Vincennes. John Todd was the son of David Todd and Hannah Owen Todd, who came from Ireland. John Todd had two brothers, one of whom, Levi Todd, became a general in the Revolutionary War. Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards and Mary Todd Lincoln, the wife of Abraham Lincoln, were descended from this branch of the Todd family. General Levi Todd's daughter, Hannah, was the mother of Hon. John T. Stuart, who was one of Lincoln's earliest and most distinguished Springfield friends. His son, Robert Todd, was the father of Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards, Mrs. Dr. William S. Wallace, Mrs. C. M. Smith and Mrs. Abraham Lincoln, all of Springfield, Illinois.[3]

[3] "The first white settlement on the site of the present city of Springfield was made in 1819, principally by a large family by the name of Kelly, from Rutherford County, North Carolina. It appears that Elisha Kelley, a bachelor hunter, who had come to Illinois as early as 1817, first visited the Sangamo country in 1818, and finding this locality abounding in game and therefore a good hunting ground, he decided to make it his home. He accordingly returned to North Carolina and induced his father, Henry Kelley, and his four brothers, John, Elijah, William and George, and one or two other families . . . to emigrate to Illinois, and unite with him in establishing a settlement where Springfield now is. The Kelley families are said to have arrived here in the Spring of 1819, after having wintered in Macoupin County. John Kelley, the eldest of the brothers, erected his cabin at or near the northwest corner of the present Jefferson and Klein streets. Another member of the Kelley family built a short distance west of the first, and a third brother, William Kelley, reared his cabin near the intersection of North Third and Pine streets. Andrew Elliott, the son-in-law of William Kelley, located to the northwest of him, while Jacob and Levi Ellis settled nearer Spring Creek. These rude log cabins constituted the first white habitations on the site of the older portion of the present city . . . . In January, 1821, the State General Assembly passed an act creating the county of Sangamon. In the following April the county commissioners, provided for in said act, met at the house of John Kelley and fixed upon a certain point in the prairie, near the corner of Mr. Kelley's field, on the tributary waters of Spring Creek, as the temporary seat of justice of said county—the same to be called and known as 'Springfield.' " (*Past and Present of Sangamon County, Illinois,* by Joseph Wallace, M. A., of the Springfield Bar. Pub. 1904. Vol. 1, Chap. I, pp. 5, 6.)

"The names of the settlers residing within the distance of two miles from the stake which had been set to mark a temporary county seat for Sangamon County, to be named Springfield . . . were John Kelly, William Kelly, Andrew Elliott, Jacob Ellis, Levi Ellis, John Lindsay, Abraham Lanterman, Mr. Dagget and Samuel Little . . . . I first boarded with John Kelly, a North Carolinian and a widower. His household consisted of himself and two children, two younger brothers, George and Elisha, his aged father and mother and myself." (*Early Life and Times,* by Major Elijah Iles; p. 31.)

The number of Irish in the territory increased somewhat during the British ascendancy in Illinois. William and Daniel Murray were worthy Irishmen and traders of a high type. Alvord says of William Murray: "In the annals of the West the names of such men as Samuel Wharton, Phinneas Lyman, George Morgan, William Murray, Richard Henderson and George Washington should occupy a conspicuous place." It appears from the entry on the parish records that on the 29th day of November 1778 Heleine Murray was baptized, the daughter of Daniel Murray and Sarah Gerrault Murray, his wife, and that amongst the signatories of the record were Daniel Murray, the father, Sarah Gerrault Murray, the mother, Colonel George Rogers Clark, Commandant-in-Chief of the forces of Virginia in the Illinois country, and other distinguished men of the locality.

Another worthy Irishman of this period was William Arundel, who was born in Ireland and came to Cahokia prior to the Clark conquest. During a part of his residence in the Illinois country, he lived near Peoria. He was a merchant and trader and is spoken of as "an orderly, moral and correct man." He died in Kaskaskia in 1816.

There were few people of other than French blood in the Illinois country earlier than Patrick Kennedy. In 1773 Kennedy made an expedition up the Illinois River in search of copper mines. The journal kept by Kennedy on this trip was published by Gilbert Imlay in his topographical description of the Western Territory of North America. Kennedy and the Murrays were ardent patriots in the American cause, and Patrick Kennedy was at once appointed Quartermaster-General upon Clark's taking possession of Illinois.

Thomas Brady was a conspicuous figure in this early day. In 1776, Brady, with a small company of volunteers consisting of sixteen men, marched across the state to the nearest British fort on Lake Michigan (Fort St. Joseph) near the present city of Niles, Michigan, and surprised and captured the fort, securing, it is said, $50,000 worth of supplies and munitions. The victors seem, however, to have overlooked a point or two in their subsequent proceedings. They paroled the British garrison, but the English, ignoring their pledges, informed their Indian allies, and together they and their allies overpowered Brady's force, took them prisoners, and recovered the goods somewhere near the present site of Chicago. In turn, however, the goods were recaptured from the British by a force which left Peoria soon after, led by Maillet, who was a relative of some of Brady's followers. Brady escaped his captors and returned by a circuitous route to Kaskaskia, where he afterward married the much-renowned

and highly-respected Widow La Compte, and in 1790 became the sheriff of St. Clair County, then one of the highest positions available to any citizen. Reynolds says of Brady: "He had the reputation of an honest, correct citizen and I believe he deserved it." Brady was a judge of the court of Cahokia in 1785, was Indian Commissioner in 1787 and in that capacity prohibited the sale of liquor to the Indians. The town, now city of East St. Louis (Illinoiston) was laid out on a part of his land.

Many of the soldiers who fought under Clark formed the earliest settlements in Illinois following the close of the American Revolution. Some of the early settlements in Monroe, Randolph and St. Clair Counties were almost wholly Irish. The Bradsbys, Whitesides, Ryans and Bradys were prominent among the hardy pioneers when Illinois was in the making.

The "American Bottom," first named when an Irishman, Shadrach Bond, father of the first Governor of Illinois, and some others settled in Illinois, contained, according to Reynolds, probably three-fourths of the American population of the Illinois territory. It included Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and nearly all of the early French settlements, extending from Alton almost to Chester. The presence there of people of Irish blood is suggested when Reynolds states in his Pioneer History of Illinois that the dear old Irish song, "Willy Reilly," was most popular.

The Plum Creek settlement east of the Kaskaskia River in Randolph County was a vigorous and influential Irish community, from which have sprung many of the leading citizens of the county. They came from Abbeyville, South Carolina, and were known in Randolph County as the "South Carolina Irish." James Patterson was the pioneer of this settlement. His father was born in Ireland, came to America, and fought under Washington. How numerous the Irish were in Illinois during that period is evidenced by the number of land grants given to heads of families bearing old Irish names.

Prior to 1783 the Flannery family settled in the American Bottom and built a block-house, or fort, on the main road from Kaskaskia to Cahokia. James Flannery, in conjunction with the McElmuny family, built a station fort in 1783 on the Mississippi opposite Island 22.

The Whiteside family was one of the most numerous and worthy families that ever settled in Illinois. William Whiteside was the patriarch and revered leader of the family. He was a brave soldier in the Revolutionary War and fought in the celebrated battle of Kings Mountain. His brother John was also in the Revolution. The Whitesides were of Irish descent and, it has been remarked, inherited

much of the Irish character. They were warm-hearted, impulsive and patriotic. To quote from Reynolds: "Their friends were always right and their foes wrong. If a Whiteside took your hand you had his heart. He would shed his blood freely for his country or his friends." William Whiteside built a fort on the road between Cahokia and Kaskaskia, which became known widely as Whiteside Station. John, his brother, resided at Bellefountaine until his death. Both men raised large families, nearly all of whom became prominent in the early history of Illinois.

An Irishman named Halfpenny was one of the very earliest school teachers. Reynolds, in his *Pioneer History,* confers upon Halfpenny the title of "Schoolmaster-general of Illinois of his day."

Halfpenny, it seems, began teaching at a very early day, somewhere near 1785, and taught school throughout the entire period in the early settlements. It is said that he taught almost all American children in Illinois of his day that received any education at all. We find that after some years, in 1795, Halfpenny built a water-mill on the Fountaine Creek, not far from the present town of Waterloo. In those days the builder of a mill was a real benefactor and was entitled to and received credit and honor second only to the brave men who defended the homes of the settlers against the incursions of their red enemies. It is a matter of regret that so little is preserved of the life of this almost first school teacher in Illinois. A man named John Seeley and another named Francis Clark are said to have preceded Halfpenny as school teachers, but their terms of service were short and the number of pupils taught by them few as compared to that of Halfpenny. Reynolds says that: "In the settlement of the New Design, an Irishman called Halfpenny at this period (1800) instructed some few pupils. This school was the only one among the Americans at this day."

John Doyle, another early teacher, was one of Clark's soldiers, and soon after the Clark conquest of 1778 settled in Illinois. He had a family and resided in or near Kaskaskia. He was a scholar, spoke the French language and Indian dialects and frequently acted as an interpreter. Doyle was one of the very earliest school teachers in the country. He, in connection with Pickett, Seybold, Groots, Hildebrand, Dodge, Camp, Tiel, Curry, Lunceford, Anderson, Pagon, Hughes and Montgomery, established the colony on the east side of the Kaskaskia River near the old town of Kaskaskia in 1780. John Doyle's early settlement in the territory is proven by the fact that he was named by the United States Commissioner as one of those

entitled to a land grant under an Act of Congress recognizing "Ancient Grants."

Among the men of more than ordinary attainments in the early settlements was James Hughes, who was a teacher of mathematics as early as 1800. It was from Hughes that Governor Reynolds first came to know anything of mathematics.

William Bradsby, whose father was born in Ireland, came to the Illinois country in 1804. He was a talented man and taught school in various localities in the new country. He had a school in the American Bottom directly west of the present city of Collinsville, and in 1807, he taught school in the Turkey Hill settlement founded by William Scott, the sturdy pioneer Irishman. Bradsby remained a teacher for several years.

James Moore, who came to the Illinois territory with Shadrach Bond, Sr., and others, seems to have the distinction of being the first foreigner naturalized in the territory of Illinois. In the record book of Colonel John Todd, the county lieutenant under Patrick Henry, is found the naturalization oath which James Moore subscribed. It reads as follows: "I do swear by the holy evangelists of Almighty God that I renounce all fidelity to George III, King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors, and that I will bear true allegiance to the United States of America as free and independent as declared by Congress, and that I will not do or cause to be done anything injurious or prejudicial to the independence of said states; that I will make known to some one Justice of the Peace for the United States all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which may come to my knowledge to be directed against the said United States or any one of them. So help me God. Sworn at Kaskaskia, July 10, 1782. James Moore."

Few of the pioneers of Illinois come down to us better recommended than William Scott. He was born of Irish parents in Botetourt County, Virginia, in 1745. He came to Kaskaskia in 1797. The family of Mr. Scott and his son-in-law Jarvis came from Kentucky to Illinois and settled on the prairie which was the first white settlement they saw in this country. Scott remained in Kaskaskia a short time, but Jarvis and his family located themselves at Turkey Hill. Turkey Hill was a conspicuous trading post for the French and Indians. It had been the camping grounds of the Indians for ages, and the traders had met them there with their merchandise and exchanged with them for furs, peltries, etc. The hill is a commanding situation. It rises to a considerable height and is observable from the east at a distance of thirty or forty miles. The settlement became conspicuous throughout the entire country and Scott was known far and near as "Turkey

Hill'' Scott. He lived an eventful life of nearly eighty-three years. He was a man of the highest morals and strong character. Scott's death occurred in 1828. He was one of the commissioners to select the county seat of St. Clair county and he settled the plantation of George Blair, the original resident of what is now the site of Belleville.

William Meers was the first resident lawyer of Cahokia. He came to Cahokia in 1808 and engaged in the practice of law. He was born in Ireland in 1768. On coming first to America he located in Philadelphia and taught school for some years in Pennsylvania. He was about forty years of age when he came to Cahokia and his biographer says: ''He was as if he dropped from the clouds without a house, clothes, books, letters or anything except himself, a rather singular and uncouth looking Irishman.'' Like many another lawyer, he read law while he taught school in Pennsylvania and though he began at the bottom, by strict application and diligent study he acquired a profound knowledge of the law and became a learned and intelligent man. He was appointed Attorney General for the territory of Illinois in 1814, and is stated to have been very able and efficient.

John Edgar was the leading citizen of Illinois from the time he came to Kaskaskia in 1784 until his death in 1832, and his wife was the leading lady of the territory during all of her life therein. Not a single chapter, but a volume, should be written of John Edgar and his estimable wife. Edgar and his first wife were both born in Ireland. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Edgar was in the naval service of Great Britain but left it to champion the American cause. At the time of leaving the service of the British, he was in command of a vessel on the lakes, but he sacrificed his prospects to cast his lot with the Americans in their fight for freedom. His espousal of the American cause gave him serious trouble. At about the time of the outbreak of the war, he was at Detroit and he and two other Irishmen who became prominent in America were overheard disparaging the war which England was making on America. The other two Irishmen were James Abbott and Robert Forsythe. Abbott's subsequent life was spent elsewhere, but Robert Forsythe became the founder and leading citizen of Peoria. He was a half brother of John Kinzie, one of the earliest residents of Chicago.

The popularity and respect in which the early citizens held Edgar is indicated by the fact that when the territory was organized by Governor St. Clair, he was elected one of the two members of the first legislature of the Northwest Territory in 1798, and attended the same at Chillicothe, Ohio. He was one of the judges selected for the first court organized in the Northwest Territory and was continuously

re-elected as Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was appointed Major General of the United States for the Illinois militia, and was constantly serving the public in some important capacity in which the value of his services far exceeded the emoluments of the offices held by him.

Another distinguished Irishman of that day was Samuel O'Melvany, a native of Ireland and a member of the first Constitutional Convention of Illinois in 1818. Many of his descendants have won distinction and honor in public and private life.

The Casey family has a distinguished history in Illinois. Zadoc Casey, whose father was born in County Tyrone, Ireland, was a member of Congress and piloted through the legislation for the Illinois and Michigan Canal. He was also Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois and for many years a distinguished member of the Illinois General Assembly. Zadoc Casey and his family removed from Tennessee to Illinois in 1817, and settled in Jefferson County, near Mount Vernon, of which he was the founder.

The French had visited and dwelt upon the present site of Chicago before representatives of other races found their way there.

Modern Chicago had its beginning with the building of Fort Dearborn in 1803. The builder and first commander of Fort Dearborn was Captain John Whistler, a native of Ireland. John Kinzie, generally regarded as the first resident of Chicago, arrived there after the fort was established. Whistler, and not Kinzie, was the real father of Chicago. Captain Whistler continued as commander of Fort Dearborn until 1810. In 1832, his son, Major William Whistler, was in charge of the fort during the Black Hawk War. Six members of the Whistler family were members of the congregation of old St. Mary's, and Father St. Cyr, the first pastor of Chicago, made his home with Major Whistler and his family until other arrangements were made.

The history of the Irish of early Chicago is most interesting and creditable to the race, and cannot be adequately presented in any paper directed primarily to the story of the Irish while Illinois was in the making.

Any consideration of the Irish of early Illinois should, however, include the names of its earlier Governors of Irish blood: Reynolds, Carlin, and Ford, whose careers are too well-known to recount here.

More than a passing tribute, if time permitted, should be paid to Colonel James A. Mulligan, of the Irish Brigade, the hero of Lexington and Winchester, and to General John A. Logan, the Commander of the Army of Tennessee, whose father, Doctor John Logan, came from Ireland early in 1800.

Pre-eminent among the Irishmen of Illinois is the name of General Shields, born in Ireland. The hero of two wars, United States Senator successively from three states, he came to be regarded as one of the finest examples of pure patriotism that our country has produced. After returning from the Civil War, the States of Illinois and Minnesota each presented him with a jeweled sword. After his death these swords were purchased by the United States Government, and are cherished among the sacred mementos of our heroic dead. His memory was further honored by the State of Illinois as its representative, entitled to a place in the Statuary Hall of our nation's capital. The unveiling of the Shields statue was one of the most notable events that ever took place in Washington.

I wish to acknowledge my appreciation of the valuable co-operation of Joseph J. Thompson, Editor of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, and Hugh O'Neill, both of Chicago, Michael J. O'Brien, of New York City, historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, and Miss Georgia L. Osborn, Assistant Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Society, in preparing this paper.

JOHN P. MCGOORTY.

Chicago.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

(Continued)

First National Convention Held in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 10, 11, 12 1901, with Most Rev. William Henry Elder, D. D., Sponsor

The First National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was opened in Cincinnati, Ohio, Thursday, December 10, 1901. Before proceeding to the Convention Hall, the Auditorium of the Odd Fellows' Temple, the delegates were escorted by the Uniformed Knights of St. John from the Grand Hotel, the convention headquarters, to St. Peter's Cathedral, where Solemn Pontifical Mass was celebrated by the Rt. Rev. Ignatius F. Horstmann, D. D., Bishop of Cleveland, Ohio, who was assisted by Rev. A. M. Quatman as Arch-priest, Rev. Louis Tieman as Deacon, Rev. Dennis Halpin as Sub-deacon and Rev. E. A. Davis as Master of Ceremonies. The Most Rev. W. H. Elder, D. D., Archbishop of Cincinnati, occupied the throne in the sanctuary, and was attended by Rev. F. X. Dutton and Rev. Joseph Pohlschneider, D. D. In the sanctuary were also the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., Bishop of Trenton, N. J., Rt. Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D. D., of Green Bay, Wisconsin, Rt. Rev. Camillus P. Maes, D. D., Bishop of Covington, Ky., Monsignor J. B. Murray and Vicar General J. Albrinck, Ph. D., of Cincinnati, Ohio, Vicar General F. Brossart of Covington, Ky., Rev. O. W. Moye, Rector of Wheeling, W. Va., Cathedral, and a large number of visiting and local clergymen.

The sermon was preached by Very Rev. M. J. Lavelle, Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral of New York. It was a ringing call for unity in order to advance the civil, social and religious interests of Catholics. "Religion and Patriotism" were the keynotes of this powerful sermon. After the Pontifical Mass, Archbishop Elder welcomed the delegates to his archepiscopal city and encouraged the movement to federate.

The First Session

The first session of the convention was called to order by Mr. Henry J. Fries of Erie, Pa., Supreme President of the Knights of St. John. Before proceeding to business there were several addresses

of welcome and greeting by Most Rev. Archbishop, Governor Nash of Ohio, Mayor Fleishman of Cincinnati and Mr. Anthony Matre, Chairman of the Local Committee and Mr. Thomas B. Minahan, President of the Ohio State Federation. Governor Nash spoke as follows:

Governor Nash Speaks

"I am glad I am here. I know that the purposes which you have in mind, and which you desire to promote, are purposes which will be beneficial to our people. I know that your objects and your efforts are to promote Religion and Education among all our people. Our forefathers declared that the promotion of these objects are necessary to the happiness of mankind. If you promote these objects you will make our citizens better citizens than they are now, and you will make our people more patriotic than they are now. We can rely upon our people if they will follow your teachings, to observe the law and to uphold their rulers in all that is lawful. If you have your way, and your desires are accomplished, the people of this country will not long be cursed with anarchy.

"I welcome you to Ohio as among the most patriotic people of this nation. I hope that the good which will arise from your deliberations will extend throughout the length and breadth of this great land and I hope that you will always promote the cause of patriotism and teach your children and children's children to love our country and our flag."

Mr. T. B. Minahan of Columbus, Ohio, President of the Ohio Federation which had just been launched a few months before, responded to Governor Nash and sounded the "Keynote" of the Federation. Mr. Minahan said in part:

Keynote Address by Hon. T. B. Minahan

"I do not know of any word that I can add to the gracious and kindly welcome of Governor Nash of Ohio. It may, however, not be out of place at this time to express the sentiments of the Ohio Federation to their fellow citizens assembled here on this occasion.

"There is some misunderstanding of the movement now being crystallized into this National Convention. There are those who assume that our presence here has some sort of political significance. I believe there are some even foolish enough to imagine that we intend forming a Catholic party. I know I express your sentiments when I say how preposterous all such arrant, malicious nonsense is. We have absolutely nothing to do with politics, good, bad or indifferent.

Neither shall politicians of any persuasion ever share in the councils of this body. The genius and the spirit of the times is unity of action. The watchword of the hour 'to dare and to do.' In the moral and intellectual field of activities about us, new instrumentalities suggest themselves for the accomplishment of broader aims. We are persuaded that greater good, that larger usefulness along social, educational, fraternal and moral lines, wisely invite to unity of action, among the separate societies you represent. Call this gathering a federation, league, union, what you will—its real meaning is the strength of united purpose and endeavor; its single object that we may the better work for God, our country and truth.

"Our first business is to formulate methods, to devise ways and means whereby all our varied societies may be blended into one harmonious, practical and permanent unit. We are convinced that for the societies themselves a rich harvest of most desirable results awaits the planting of this seed of unity of action.

"Our own organization and best hopes realized what other lines of action do we contemplate? Problems whose solution will make for greater happiness, for better citizenship, for nobler manhood—these are all about us. From the spread of falsehood and of dangerous principles; from the spawn of anarchy; from the curse of intemperance—from all these our country is not free.

In Union There Is Strength

"Why then should not the united strength of Catholic citizenship rouse itself and be at the very forefront in the broad battlefield about us, where the forces of light and of darkness struggle for the mastery? In this regard I cannot think of any better or more condensed expression of our aim and purpose than the language of one of our most distinguished leaders: 'We love liberty, we love knowledge, we love truth, we love opportunity and forgetting nationality, forgetting separate specific aims, forgetting all save God's image in every human being, we would uplift men by uplifting mankind.' This is the keynote of the beneficent and beautiful union we seek to build up, to perfect and to perpetuate, that it may assist in the work of all other citizens in shedding a brighter and holier light upon the stars on the flag.

"He absolutely mistakes who would construe this uniting of our societies to mean the stirring up of strife or the antagonizing of other citizens who differ from us in creed. The work we contemplate knows no other motto than charity and kindness. We cannot perhaps better

express our sentiments than by quoting and paraphrasing the historic utterance of Abraham Lincoln: 'We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies, though prejudice and narrow-mindedness may at times have strained, they must not break the natural bonds of affection that should bind all Americans together. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will surely touch the better angels of our nature.'

"Therefore, 'with malice towards none and with charity for all,' we hope to commend our actions to the respect and esteem of our fellow citizens that the day will not be long delayed until the white hand of a broad, true, great-hearted, splendid Americanism will reach out and pluck from beneath the fair rose of our freedom the last withered thorn of narrow-minded prejudice and bigotry."

Bishop C. P. Maes, D. D., of Covington, Ky., Speaks

Mr. Fries then introduced Bishop C. P. Maes of Covington, Ky., who said in part:

"There is no one in the United States who appreciates the value of the Federation movement so much as the Catholic Bishops of America, for all the troubles and heartburns of the Bishop are directly traceable to disunion among Catholics. Let me say one word of advice to you: Forget self; try to look at the great things before you and make this Federation of the American Catholic Societies the best bloom of Catholic piety and Catholic citizenship in this fair land."

Address of Bishop I. F. Horstmann, D. D.

Bishop I. F. Horstmann of Cleveland, Ohio, was then called upon for a few remarks. The Bishop said: "The Keynote of your great work is, 'Praised be Jesus Christ, forever and ever.' I am glad this work of Federation has commenced. It has been in my mind ever since 1867. In my own humble way since I have been Bishop of Cleveland I have established a Federation in that city. I have secured from every parish priest in my diocese the names of his two best men. Whenever I want them together for their advice and support, I simply touch a button and in twenty-four hours my men are together ready to oppose any anti-Catholic legislation. Now, if so much can be done in this State, what can the representatives from Catholic societies in every part of these United States do?"

Bishop James A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., the first spiritual adviser, was then asked to explain the Federation movement. The Bishop spoke as follows:

Bishop McFaul's Address

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is gratifying to observe the interest manifested in the movement which has called together this Convention. This may be attributed to an assurance that it will proceed along conservative lines. The attention it has received from those who are not in sympathy with it demonstrates its importance. Its friends are not unmindful of the opposition which has arisen, yet they remain undisturbed, because they feel that unfavorable criticism has proceeded from a misconception of the scope and aims, as well as of the progress which it has made. They have, indeed, invited criticism, so that they might be thoroughly informed as to the best methods to be pursued.

"Federation is still in its infancy; it has scarcely acquired 'a habitation and a name'; and its constitution has not yet assumed definite shape. Unfavorable comment, however, is not premature except when coming from a source fully as well disposed as ourselves, and just as anxious to attain, if possible, the objects proposed, but by other methods.

"It may not be out of place to state that before acting as an adviser to the organizers of this movement, I was careful to seek advice. The approbation of Federation by the Hierarchy was not requested, because such approbation would have given to Federtaion the character of a church movement; whereas it has originated with the laity, and must live or die by their interest in it.

Origin of Federation

"The mistaken notion has gone abroad that the idea of Federation is of recent origin. It has occupied the attention of laymen for over ten years. What has helped to keep it alive is the excellent results to be expected from a large body, engaged in work which individual organizations, owing to limited territory and resources, could not presume to undertake, much less accomplish. The leaders are laymen; they are the organizers; by their efforts alone can it succeed, and be introduced into the different States, and then only, as in the case of other societies, with the consent of the Bishop of the diocese.

"It could easily happen that laymen, filled with enthusiasm in what they considered a worthy undertaking, might go beyond the bounds of prudence where religious interests are concerned, and it is for this reason that Bishop Messmer and myself have acted as your advisers. We feared that the Federation might assume the character of a religious movement, instead of a union of American citizens seeking the promotion of social, fraternal and benevolent interests.

"It is hardly necessary to say that, as Catholic Bishops and loyal Americans, we are adverse to whatever might cause dissension or arouse prejudice. It is difficult to understand why the promotion of the social, fraternal and other interests of Catholics, as American citizens, should excite animosity, except in the minds of bigots; and they are in the minority, and not likely to be appeased by any action of ours. Non-Catholic Americans are, as a rule, intelligent, liberal-minded, and anxious that the welfare of the citizen be promoted by every legitimate means.

"It is apparent to any one acquainted with the political conditions existing in the United States that our people are dividing between the two great political parties, and that any attempt to subject even individual societies to the sway of partisanship would be suicidal to any organization. The opposition has therefore sounded an alarm which is quite unnecessary, as we are in perfect agreement as to the necessity of avoiding the domain of partisan politics.

Benefits of Federation

"The scope of Federation is wide enough to embrace all the benefits which can be conferred by such an organization, either upon the societies entering into it or upon their individual members. These benefits need not be enumerated at length, as they will be presented in your Constitution. An excellent summary of them has been given by the Committee on Invitation to the Clergy. I shall briefly allude to some of them: Catholics of different nationalities and of various sections of the country will become acquainted with the sentiments and the aspirations of all. Race prejudices will be broken down, and all Catholics will be brought into sympathy with one another by two most powerful motives, which will guide them onward and upward: love of faith and of country.

"At the same time they will realize that 'in union there is strength'; that one organization acting alone can accomplish but little, whereas all united will be irresistible. An opportunity, too, will be offered at the annual conventions to discuss the status and the needs of the entire Catholic body throughout the United States, and to suggest means for improvement.

"Federation will likewise assist in forming correct Catholic opinion on the prominent subjects of the day, by their discussion in our assemblies, in the extensive dissemination of Catholic thought, and of the Christian solution of the important problems attracting the minds of the age. Moreover, all its energies will be employed towards the encouragement of the Catholic press, and the support of our parochial schools and colleges.

"Gentlemen, we have been too long content with remaining in the background. We allow ourselves to be put aside too easily on the plea that it is useless to state our rights and explain our position. It has taken time, but we have discovered our mistake. Recently the injustice of taxing Catholics for a system of education which they can not patronize has been clearly stated; the attention of thinking men has been repeatedly called to the fact that education without religion and morality is dangerous to the welfare of the individual and of society. As a consequence you have observed a growing change in public opinion on this very question. The public utterances of non-Catholics show that they are slowly but surely discovering that Catholics have all along been in the right when they contended for religious education.

Christian Education and Catholic Press and Literature

"This organization should arouse a spirit of enthusiasm in favor of Christian education. Whenever I visit Princeton, the generosity which has established, equipped and adorned its historic university compels my admiration. At the same time I ask myself, What have wealthy Catholics done to compare with the work of non-Catholics in the establishment and support of the great educational institutions of the United States? Many of you have enjoyed the benefits of Catholic academic training and appreciate it at its true value. Let your little

ones be sent to the parochial schools and your sons and daughters to Catholic institutions of learning.

"Allow me to say a word in behalf of Catholic literature, and to hope that this Federation will foster and advance its interests. The press is perhaps the mightiest engine of our day, and it can be employed to immense advantage in the spread of truth. Yet how many Catholic families subscribe for a Catholic newspaper, a Catholic periodical, or possess a small library of useful, entertaining, instructive and religious works? If you desire to keep the atmosphere of your homes pure, and Catholic, you must keep yourselves and your children in touch with Catholic thought and abreast of Catholic progress. I repeat what I have said on other occasions, that the support given to the Catholic press is a disgrace to the Catholics of America. These are the thoughts that are in my mind on this occasion. Take them under your patronage.

Apostolate of the Laity

"Some one has said that we need an apostolate of the laity, under the guidance and inspiration, of course, of the Church. No truer words were ever uttered. The propagation of truth, the promotion of our interests, must not be left to the clergy alone. We are powerless without the strong, loyal arm of the laity. Remember the spirit of fortitude, religion and piety which enabled your heroic ancestors to cross the trackless ocean, and unite themselves to the destinies of this great Republic of the West. Emulate their devotion to the cause of truth and justice; it enabled them to conquer adversity and to triumph over persecution. Strong in the profession of Catholic principles, go forward courageously, and the cause in which you are engaged must command success."

Committee's Appointed

Mr. Fries then named the Committee on Credentials, with Mr. T. P. McKenna of New Jersey, as Chairman, after which a recess was taken until 3 o'clock P. M.

At the afternoon session other committees were appointed as follows: Committee on Constitution with Judge Thomas W. Fitzgerald of New York as Chairman; Committee on Press with Alphonse G. Koelble of New York, Chairman; Committee on Rules and Regulations with W. E. Keehan of Cincinnati, Ohio, as Chairman.

Mr. Thomas H. Cannon of Chicago, High Chief Ranger of the Catholic Order of Foresters, spoke briefly and pledged the support of the ninety-five thousand members of the Order that he represented to the movement for Federation.

A cablegram was sent to the Holy Father Leo XIII expressing devotion to Holy Church and a telegram was sent to the President of the United States expressing loyalty to country.

Second Day's Session

The second day's session opened at 9:30 A. M., Wednesday, December 11, 1901. Bishop McFaul recited the opening prayer. Tele-

grams from Cardinal Gibbons and Honorable Charles Bonaparte were read.

The Committee on Credentials reported that delegates were present from the followings States: Colorado, Georgia, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Vermont. The report was adopted.

The Committee on Constitution was then called upon to make its report. Before doing so Bishop Sebastian G. Messmer of Green Bay, Wisconsin, asked to address the convention. The Bishop said in part:

Bishop S. G. Messmer Speaks

"We have arrived at a critical period of this convention, namely, the adoption of a permanent Constitution. From the discussion which is about to open on the Constitution will depend the success or the failure of the Federation movement. I take it that this Federation's object is to bring together all the Catholics of this country and to consider the common interests that affect them. It is not the object of Federation to interfere in any way with the separate societies federating. Perfect liberty and freedom will be left them. As to the question of nationalities due consideration must be given. If this Federation does no more than bring the Catholics of the different nationalities together, it will have done a great work. The great drawback under which the Church in this country labors is the one of nationalities. Therefore, I ask you—I ask you in the name of God—to give due consideration to the desires of these nationalities, so that if they wish to enter, they will always find the way easily open."

Bishop McFaul also spoke and endorsed Bishop Messmer's words, saying: "When I received Bishop Messmer's congratulations for the work which I had begun for Federation, when I read his letter of encouragement telling me to go forward, I felt that there was some future for the laying of the foundation of this Federation of Catholic Societies. We have come here to federate, not temporarily as we did at Long Branch, N. J., but permanently. We will not leave Cincinnati until we have federated."

At the afternoon and evening sessions the Constitution submitted was thoroughly discussed and finally adopted as a whole.

Resolutions Adopted

The Committee on Resolutions made its report through Hon, John J. Coyle. The Resolutions declared the Federation's devotion and loyalty to Holy Mother Church and recommended to the faithful, and to those outside the communion of the Catholic Church, the study of the various Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII, urging all to carry out the advice given so lovingly and forcibly therein. The Resolutions also pledged encouragement in behalf of a sound Catholic Press, Literature and Education and pledged to our country that devotion and patriotism which is incumbent upon all good citizens.

Pope Leo XIII Sends Cablegram

The following cablegram from Pope Leo XIII was read at the convention:

"Gulielmo Elder, Archiepiscopo,
Cincinnati:

"Beatissimus pater exanimo impertitur benedictionem apostolicam societatibus Catholicis Civitatum foederatarum in urbe Cincinnatensi conventum agentibus.

M. Cardinal Rampolla."

The Nomination Committee of which Very Rev. M. J. Lavelle of New York was chairman made its report. The choice of this committee for president was Hon. Thomas B. Minahan of Columbus, Ohio. The Hon. John J. Coyle of Philadelphia presented to the convention the name of Hon. Judge T. W. Fitzgerald of New York. Mr. Thomas Cannon of Chicago was also enthusiastically nominated but declined to serve. The convention then proceeded to ballot and at a late hour it was announced that Hon. Thomas B. Minahan had received the highest votes.

The evening session closed at midnight to meet again at 9 o'clock Thursday morning.

Third Day's Session

The closing session convened Thursday, December 11, 1901, at 9 A. M. Bishop McFaul opened the session with prayer.

The election of officers was continued and the following were elected as the first permanent officers of the newly founded Federation of Catholic Societies:

Hon. Thomas B. Minahan, National President. (Elected by ballot the evening before.)

Mr. L. J. Kauffmann, New York, First Vice-President.
Mr. T. H. Cannon, Chicago, Second Vice-President.
Mr. Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa., Third Vice-President.
Mr. Anthony Matre, Cincinnati, Ohio, National Secretary.
Mr. Henry J. Fries, Erie, Pa., National Treasurer.
Mr. Christ. O'Brien, Chicago, Marshal.

Executive Board:

Mr. Nicholas Gonner, Iowa.
Mr. Gabriel Franchere, Ill.
Mr. E. D. Reardon, Ind.
Mr. G. W. Gibbons, Penn.
Mr. P. H. McGuire, Penn.
Mr. M. P. Mooney, Ohio.
Mr. Lawrence Fabacher, La.

Chicago was selected as the Convention City for 1902. The closing prayer was said by the Rt. Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D. D., Bishop of Green Bay, Wis., followed by the singing of "America" by all present.

(*To Be Continued*)

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.
National Secretary.

Chicago.

CHRISTMAS DAY, 1865, IN VIRGINIA CITY, MONTANA

The following sketch has been found among the unpublished papers of Father Francis Xavier Kuppens, S. J. (1838-1916), now preserved in the Archives of St. Louis University. Father Kuppens was the last surviving missionary associated with the illustrious De Smet, founder and indefatigable promoter of our Catholic Indian Missions of the West. He said the first Mass in Helena, Montana, in the spring of 1865, was among the first to bring the wonders of the Yellowstone Park region to the notice of the public, was a close personal friend of General Meagher, Lieutenant-Governor of Montana Territory, and by his strenuous ministry on behalf of Indian and white alike, became an outstanding figure in the early ecclesiastical history of the West.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

Christmas day, 1865, was a memorable day in Virginia City in the Territory of Montana. The events that happened there on that great Holy Day were narrated hundreds of times, and in the most distant settlements of the Territory, and they lingered long in the minds of the Catholics. I have heard them scores of times, in many and various forms, and with many unimportant alterations, but always leaving the main events standing out very prominently.

Virginia City at that time was a very prosperous settlement, the centre of various mining camps in the district. It was a wild place and could hardly be called civilized. Communication with the States was very slow; most of the goods were imported by ox train from Ogden or Salt Lake. The stage had only recently been established but at prohibitive prices. There was as yet no telegraph. The medium of commerce was gold-dust or nuggets, which was weighed in small apothecary scales, or guessed at by a two-finger or a three-finger pinch. Metal coin or paper currency were never seen. The population of the district was estimated to be about 10,000. There were hardly any families in the place; all were individual men of every nation, and tongue. Some fifteen or twenty married couples was all that the place could boast of; children were never seen. There were some refined persons, but they were mixed and lost in the crowd. The refining influence of woman to leaven the manners of the people was absent. The vigilance committee had been organized the year before, had in three weeks executed over twenty persons and was now at the height of its power. They assumed to themselves the office, not of protecting life or property, but of dealing out swift and summary

punishment to any transgressor. The town had been elected the Capital of the Territory, in place of Bannock, whose star had set when a few of its richest claims were exhausted. General Thomas Francis Meagher had been appointed Acting Governor, had arrived in the Territory during the preceding summer and had taken up his residence in the Capital. The legislature was to meet in a couple of weeks for the first time in this new Capital, and many law-makers were already at the place before Christmas. Many miners were idle on account of the frost; and the approaching holiday season brought together an unprecedented numerous population. Every hotel, lodging house and cabin was crowded to its utmost capacity. The priest on his mission in those days, besides vestments, altarstone, and chapel, also carried some provisions and a couple of blankets; all his travels were on horseback, and few journeys were undertaken during which he was not obliged to camp out a few nights. When lodging was obtained it most generally was only a shelter under a stranger's roof, and a place to spread your blankets on the floor. There was no mail from the Indian Country where the priest lived and no notice could be sent of an intended visit.

In 1865 Father Giorda arrived in Virginia City a few days before Christmas and took up his lodging at the cabin of a good pious Catholic miner. He, in company of that worthy man spent all evening and all next day in trying to secure a place that might serve for a Chapel on that great Holy day. Any hall, dining room, large store, or large room would have been most gladly accepted, or rented at any price, for a place of worship on that day; but none could be secured, not even for a few hours of the early day before breakfast hour; no, not even a couple of hours in the forenoon during the quiet hours of business from nine to eleven o'clock could any room or hall be secured. Late that night exhausted, footsore and more heartsore after the fruitless search, the Father and his companion retired to rest hoping and praying for better success in the morning. What their prayers and reflections were on that night, considering the many points of similarity to a like occurrence in Judea, is a subject of reflection.

Late that evening in a place where the youth and the sporting fraternity of the town amused themselves by feats of dexterity and skill, or at cards and dice, some one mentioned that a Catholic priest was in town and had been trying all day to find a place for holding Catholic service on Christmas day and had not succeeded. This was too much for the hearers. The old faith, though it had lately shown few signs of life, now burst from the embers in a fair blaze. A firm

resolve took possession of them all; a place must be found for the Christmas celebration; that was the verdict, and without definite plans they dispersed, determined to find ways and means in the morning.

The leader of the crowd, however, was not a man of procrastination principles. I forget his name and we will call him Mr. Hugh O'n. He wore the champion's belt, and had posted a standing challenge to any aspirant of honors, and was ready to try issue in the ring according to the rules of the Marquis of Queensberry. Though late, Mr. Hugh O'n went to see General Meagher, the Governor, who was well known. Both were of one nation, country, both of one religion, and it did not take long to form a plan of action. It would be a shame, a burning and everlasting shame, if the Catholic religion could obtain no place of worship on Christmas day; and that in the Capital of Montana, and the Governor there. Both men were equally indignant. Shortly afterwards the proprietor of the theatre, the largest place in town, had his sleep interrupted and was compelled to listen to business propositions. A large amount of gold would be paid for the rent of the theatre for two weeks. This and other equally eloquent arguments brought consent and all dates and engagements were cancelled. The actors were easily persuaded that a two weeks' rest during the Holiday season would give them a good rest—so necessary for their health.

In the morning a committee of two waits on Father Giorda, with a most pressing request that he come at once to the theatre and meet the Governor and Mr. Hugh O'n. The Father, overjoyed at all the news, did not know how to express his thanks in words, but we may be sure that the angels recorded his aspirations. Some few alterations in the arrangement of screens and seats were suggested, and then General Meagher by his supreme authority claimed Father Giorda as his guest, and all rights of individuals or promises of priest were declared void and null. Himself with two assistants would see to his comfort and entertainment. Mr. Hugh O'n took charge of the alterations of the theatre.

In a little while carpenters, decorators, helpers of every kind, friends of Mr. Hugh O'n, turned the theatre into a veritable bee hive. His quiet suggestions are looked upon as orders; loads of evergreens disappear in a few minutes and are seen in garlands, emblems or festoons. An immense cross is planted in front of the door to proclaim to the world the interior change. A large cross over the door and also one to surmount the roof proclaims that it is a place of Catholice worship. There is nothing subdued, or simple in manner in

those decorations; they are bold, profuse and aggressive. The interior decorations were equally profuse, all pictures or signs of a distracting nature are removed or covered under the evergreen wreaths and religious emblems of crosses, crowns, hearts, etc. An altar, communion railing, confessional, have been constructed, all decent and serviceable. And Mr. Hugh O'n directs and manages the whole transformation of the theatre into a Catholic church. And all day the news around town, and in the neighboring camps was very unusual and almost unprecedented. Numerous messengers on splendid mounts brought the glad tidings that the theatre had been rented, and that there would be Christmas service for the Catholics, that the priest was the guest of Governor Meagher. All items of interest, and the fruitless search for a hall, all were told hundreds of times, and every Catholic was most earnestly invited to be present. Messengers succeeded messengers; some sent directly by the Governor, some by Mr. Hugh O'n. Many volunteered and no Catholic was overlooked. From Summit and Central, and Dobie town, and Nevada, the whole length of Alder Gulch, and Stinking Water Creek. The commotion drew the attention of the whole population. There never had been such stir before; at the time of the discovery of gold at Last Chance Gulch, there had been a great stampede, but the preparations now appeared more stirring. But it was well known that there was friction between the Governor and the Vigilance Committee, no one knew to what extent, or when a storm would burst loose. At the time of the organization of the vigilance committee, and their first executions, there had also been seen an unusual number of persons bringing messages to their friend; but now there were joyful tidings, nothing secret or hidden. And the response to the repeated invitations, that had been lukewarm and faint-hearted from some in the morning, became warm, fervent and determined in the evening.

Towards the close of day General Meagher came to see what progress had been made in the work at the theatre and congratulating Mr. Hugh O'n over his splendid work, was interrupted by the proprietor who had also come to see, and who expressed himself in no uncertain words that in his opinion his theatre had been utterly ruined for further business, by those exterior and interior emblems and decorations. The General and his lieutenant had never hesitated in any difficulty before, and now in answer to his complaint asked him to set his price on the building. It was accepted and the earnest money to make the bargain binding was paid on the spot. These men were not hampered by regulations of canon law, consultations, and delays in decisions of Bishops; they did not think it was necessary to

speak to the priest about it. They knew their neighbors would all endorse the act, and that the angels would applaud.

The news that the theatre was bought for a Catholic church was the crowning event of that day, and was heralded everywhere; and then the further news that there was to be midnight Mass, and that a church choir was organized, and that it would be midnight high Mass, and that all were expected to help pay for the theatre was fresh news to be thoroughly circulated. On the morning of Christmas eve Mr. Hugh O'n was at his self-imposed task, the decorations needed a few finishing touches, the altar needed a little extra decorations, the candles were to be placed in proper and symmetrical form. The seats required a little more orderly arrangements. The holy water font at the door was not neglected, and visitors who came by the score out of curiosity, or from a motive to make sure that all reports were genuine, were all reminded by the sexton that no loud remarks or distracting behavior was tolerated. They were politely requested to kneel down and say some prayer, and stay a while to rest their souls. All day long a good number of persons were in the church, raising their hearts to heaven, not distracted by the stream of visitors that came and went away. All formed a firm resolution to be generous on Christmas day. The priest was free from the ordinary distracting cares of preparing all things for the altar and church. He could give his whole mind to his prayers and devotions, and spent all afternoon and night in the Confessional, till it was time for midnight Mass. Long before the appointed hour the church was crowded to its utmost capacity. Many unable to gain admittance resigned themselves to the inclemency of the weather, and knelt at the door, uniting their hearts to those who had come earlier.

As the hour approached the choir intoned the Adeste Fideles. Mr. Hugh O'n lit the candles and assisted the priest in vesting and by his devout reverential manner edified all. The clearness and correctness of his responses to the priest gave evidence of a careful, thorough Catholic education in his youth.

Father Giorda preached a most consoling sermon on the gospel of the occasion. After the gospel and sermon, General Meagher prepared to take up the collection among the congregation; and it has often been mentioned that he had a large white delft plate. This had been found among the latest invoices of goods in the territory. Up to that time a tin plate had been the orthodox receptacle for the offerings of the faithful. And on this delft plate were two spoons, a teaspoon and a tablespoon, with which the members might with ease and despatch transfer the shining dust from their buckskin purse to

the plate. There was no announcement whatever about the collection, the priest knew nothing about it. Every member of the congregation was thoroughly alive to the occasion. No member so devout that he failed to see the General or the plate.

The number and devotion of the worshippers, the earnestness in their prayers and all their actions, and especially the numbers of communions, attracted the attention of all. The whole atmosphere seemed to breathe a spirit of piety such as never had been experienced in Virginia City. On no previous occasion of a visit had Father Giorda or any other priest witnessed so consoling a sight. These men were oblivious to the world, past hardships and struggles were forgotten; the future did not trouble them, and for the present one and all were intent to join the Angels to give Glory to God in the highest. I doubt if the recording Angel could find anywhere on earth a more earnest congregation.

After Mass General Meagher requested all to remain in their seats a few moments, and in words as only he could command presented the offering. In the name of the whole community, of every claim in this mountain district, in the name of every person present and in his own name, he presented this house to God, that his infant son might find a dwelling place amongst them and that his minister might take care of it. He offered to God and to religion the largest place and most suitable house in town. Would to God it were made of marble. This house henceforth is the House of God, a Catholic church, we give it and here is the price, in God's noblest metal, gold pure as it was washed from the earth yesterday; pure, it has not yet seen the smelting pot to receive its capacity of alloy; no Caesar or potentate has as yet set his image or superscription on it; it is virgin gold and has not been contaminated by any traffic or commerce; it never will be spent in a better cause; as God has given it in abundance without measure, so they return it to God, without weight, but plenty to secure the house, free without debt, as an abiding place to God forever. It would never be said of them that there was no place for Christ. So he hoped the priest would make this place his permanent residence and the sogarth aroon would ever have amongst them "Cead mille failthe."

The priest tried to express his thanks, but was overcome to tears. Mr. Hugh O'n, his strong attendant, supported the frail form, and, guiding his faltering steps, led him away.

WILLIAM LAMPRECHT, ARTIST

For twelve years the writer of this short article was a professor at Marquette University. Both in the old Marquette College on Tenth and State Streets and in the Administration Building of Marquette University on Grand Avenue, I had numerous occasions to point out to friends and visitors Lamprecht's picture of the priest discoverer. Often I was asked, who was Lamprecht? And I was forced to acknowledge that little was known of the artist. During a recent visit to the well known college, Mt. St. Joseph-on-the-Ohio, I was impressed by the beautiful and delicate work in the chapel, and on inquiring for the name of the artist I was told that it was Lamprecht. From this simple incident I was able to trace the life story of the painter.

But do not imagine that Lamprecht was only a talented decorator; he was an artist—a real artist.

Through the kind cooperation of Mr. Alwin Tapke of Cincinnati I was able to communicate with the family of Lamprecht in Germany and to secure from his wife many unpublished details about his life. These facts will be of real historical value to many a church in the East and Middle West.

William Lamprecht was born in Bavaria on the thirty-first of October, eighteen hundred thirty-eight. After finishing a classical education he was admitted into the Royal Academy of Arts, Munich. During his early years at the academy he won first prize for a painting in competition with a class of sixty students.

Up until his twenty-fifth year he was engaged exclusively as a portrait painter. His work became known to the Benedictine Fathers, who recognized the talent of the painter and later recommended him to the Benedictines in Newark, New Jersey. The latter induced him to come to America and paint a series of pictures of the Blessed Virgin in the St. Mary's Church. This was in 1867 and the beginning of Lamprecht's fame. Many who witnessed the glowing paintings of the Munich artist were anxious to secure his services. For thirty-five years Lamprecht was not able to fill all the orders which came to him.

In 1867 Lamprecht went to Cincinnati where several orders were awaiting him. While in that city he and Reverend Anthony Schroeninger founded the Christian Art Society. It was for this society that Lamprecht painted the classical picture of Marquette. The occasion was a fair, held in eighteen hundred sixty-nine, to raise money for the assistance of some poor artists who were friends of the founders of the Christian Art Society. When the raffle for the Marquette

picture was held, the winner was a shoemaker who disposed of his prize at a very small price. The picture passed through several hands, and about the year 1877 was secured for Marquette by Father Aloysius Lalumiere, who was president of the college.[1]

It will be recalled that in the World's Fair in St. Louis, 1904, one of the government stamps was struck for Lamprecht's picture of Marquette.

In eighteen hundred seventy-three Lamprecht returned to New York where his work kept him so closely engaged that his health gradually declined, until he was forced to rest. He returned to his native Bavaria and remained two years, coming back to the United States in eighteen hundred seventy-five.

For the next twenty-five years, his brush was never idle. We can give here only a partial list of the churches which he decorated:

1. St. Francis of Assissi, New York.
   The painting is in the refectory of the Fathers, all figures representing figures of the Capucian Fathers.
2. St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, Ohio.
3. St. Patrick's Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
4. St. Francis of Assissi, New York.
5. St. Peter-Paul's Cathedral, Providence, Rhode Island.
6. St. Mary's Hospital, Hoboken, New Jersey.
7. College Point, Queens County, New York.
9. Hunters' Point, Long Island City.
10. Babylon, Long Island City.
11. Convent of the Holy Cross, Dominican Sisters, Brooklyn, N. Y.
12. Annunciation, New York.
13. Assumption, New York.
14. St. James, New York.
15. Chapel of the Convent of St. Agnes, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin.

The following list with dates will give the reader some idea of the uninterrupted work of the artist.

1891. Cathedral of Hartford, Conn.
1891. St. John's Church, Orange, New Jersey.
1892. St. Francis Church, New York.
1893. Church of the Holy Redeemer, New York.
1893. St. Francis Church, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

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[1] In the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Jan. 1927, p. 239, will be found a detailed account and interpretation on Lamprecht's picture, written by the author of this article.

1894. Sacred Heart Church, Springfield, Mass.
1892-93 Cathedral of the Holy Name, Chicago, Ill.
1895. Monastery, Yonkers, New York. Two paintings.
1895. Mission Church, Roxbury, Mass.
1895. St. Charles' College Chapel, Ellicot City, Maryland.
1895. St. Alponsus Church, New York.
1895. St. Francis Xavier's, New York.
1897. Sisters of St. Francis, New York. A large painting.
1898. Chapel of the Sisters, Oldenburg, Indiana.
1898. St. Joseph's Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.
1899. St. Mary's Church, Hoboken, New Jersey.
1899. St. Joseph's Church, New York.
1900. Foundling Asylum, New York.
1900. Good Shephard Chapel, Brooklyn, New York.
1900. St. Agnes Church, New York.
1901. Manhattan, Sacred Heart Institute, New York.
1902. Mt. St. Joseph's Chapel, near Cincinnati.

Of Lamprecht's work in the chapel at Mt. St. Joseph's, Ohio, I have this account from one of the community:

"The Blessed Virgin, Mary Immaculate, the woman of the Apocalypse, 'Mulier amicta sole, et luna sub pedibus ejus, et in capite ejus corona stellarum duodicem,' is the central figure, a vision of celestial beauty bursting through the clouds. Clothed in soft white garments, she stands erect upon the world, her eyes turned toward Heaven while one foot crushes the head of the infernal serpent. Suspended from her shoulders is a blue mantle of great length, the folds of which are gathered at either side by a beautiful Angel.

"Below these and in advance like a herald is another Angel carrying a scroll on which is inscribed, 'In umbra manus suae, protexit me.' Above the Blessed Virgin is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. His wings are spread above her and soft luminous rays are falling upon her. Seated above all, with clouds as a footstool, is the Eternal Father. Two fingers of His right hand are extended in the act of blessing Mary and the left hand is spread above her head.

"On the left of God, the Father, is the Archangel, Michael, wearing a helmet and coat of mail and carrying a flaming sword and shield. On the shield is written St. Michael's battle cry, 'Quis ut Deus?' He is placed at the left of the Eternal Father to show that his mission is accomplished. Below him and to his left are two Angels, one bearing the Ark of the Covenant, the other the 'Root of Jesse.' Beneath these are two others, one with the Morning Star

on his right wing, the other carrying a Harp. As the Angels form a circle around the Blessed Mother, the last two come a little above and close to the Herald Angel. On the right of God, the Father, and receiving His commission is the Archangel, Gabriel. He carries a sceptre and wears a coronet. His gaze is fixed upon the Eternal Father who is looking upon Mary. Below St. Gabriel and to his right are two Angels carrying respectively a crown on a cushion and a lily. Below these are two others, one carrying a lute and the other a palm branch. They close the circle on the right of the Angel with scroll. Here and there through the clouds and hovering about the Blessed Virgin are cherubs, singly and in groups, to the number of one hundred. In the helmet and shield of St. Michael are two large jewels and the garments of the Blessed Virgin and the Angels are fastened at the throat with a topaz, amethyst, and other precious stones. The crown which an Angel is carrying to the Blessed Virgin is thickly set with rare stones."

From the Franciscan Convent in Oldenburg, Indiana, Reverend Mother Clarissa writes me most appreciatively of the work of Lamprecht:

"The mural paintings of Mr. William Lamprecht of New York City, as we have them in our Convent Church, are declared masterpieces by the most critical judges. They are oil paintings consisting of eight groups, four full figures and fourteen busts. The groups represent respectively:

St. Francis receiving the bull of approval of the Rule.
St. Francis giving the Rule to St. Clara.
Jesus blessing the little children.
Christ among the Doctors.
Four groups of Angels, three in each group, bearing symbols such as Gedeon's fleece, Ark of the Covenant, the Burning Bush, etc.
The full figures are:
Angels of the Sanctuary, one swinging a censor, the other bearing wheat and grapes.
King David and St. Cecilia in Choir Loft.
The Busts are:
The four great Latin Doctors of the Church—
St. Bonaventure, St. Francis de Sales, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Louis.
St. Peter Baptist on the East side.
St. Margaret of Cortona, St. Catherine of Alexandria, St. Agatha, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, St. Angela Merici on the West side."

Reverend John C. Harmon, S. J., of St. Francis Xavier's Church, New York, adds the words:

"Lamprecht painted the Apotheosis of St. Francis Xavier in the dome over the sanctuary; also the death of St. Francis Xavier, and the three youthful saints of the Society of Jesus. The Stations, the like of which cannot be found, are also from his brush."

Finally we quote from a letter of Rt. Rev. Mgr. FitzSimmons of the Holy Name Cathedral, Chicago, Illinois.

"Mr. Lamprecht was the artist who executed the mural paintings, about thirty in all, in the Cathedral in 1892-1893. He was the cartoonist, but had an associate artist who did the coloring. He was, to my mind, a great artist, thoroughly Catholic in sentiment, an excellent interpreter of a subject, spiritual technique, and wonderfully accurate in his free-hand work. The paintings exist today and are as good, I say, as when they were completed. I value these paintings highly, and in my thirty-eight years as Rector, I know of no work that I consider quite their equal in skill and durability."

After finishing the work at Mt. St. Joseph's, Ohio, Lamprecht felt his strength giving away and returned to Germany where he lived with his family in quiet after his long years of professional work in this country. Even in his advanced age he was not idle but spent his time in painting small pictures, portraits and canvas designs for churches. He was a poet, too, and his poetical productions are preserved as an heirloom in his family. His family life was an extremely happy one, for he had a loving wife and two children to whom he was devotedly attached. In nineteen hundred twenty he celebrated his golden wedding. Lamprecht died a most peaceful and holy death on the Feast of St. Joseph, nineteen hundred twenty-two.

BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI

EDITOR'S NOTE: Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Charles Souvay, C. M., I am enabled to enclose the very first letter of the correspondence between Bishop John England of Charleston and Bishop Joseph Rosati dated Saint Mary's Seminary, December 7, 1826.

Bishop England had not as yet received this communication on December 29, 1826, when he wrote his own letter to Rosati. The letter is interesting for the information it contains, and for the generous spirit of praise which it manifests. It is taken from Bishop Rosati's Abstract of Correspondence, Archives of St. Louis Diocesan Chancery, Book 2, No. 179.

St. Louis. REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

St. Mary's Seminary, December 7, 1826.

I have received a copy of the constitution of the R. C. Church of South Carolina which you have favoured to send me by the last mail. I am very much obliged to your kindness, and think it my duty to offer you my sincere and hearty thanks for it, as well as to express here how much I have been gratified by the perusal of it. The wisdom and prudence with which without deviating in the least from the most approved general discipline of the Catholic Church you have framed it in such a manner, as to adopt such regulations as will, if carried into execution, secure to your flock the deposit of faith to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction respect and submission, to the clergy honour and support, and to Religion at large propagation and stability.

I congratulate therefore your Diocese for all these blessings, and pray Almighty God to preserve to it the pastor to whom, after God it owes them. The local circumstances, of that portion of the vineyard of the Lord intrusted to my care, will never permit. I am afraid, the adoption of such measures as I have admired in your Constitution. The old prejudices, I think, of protestants against the Catholic Religion determined the Convention that framed the constitution of the State of Missourri to provide that no religious corporation could ever be acknowledged by the legislature. Hence the Church properly must necessarily be vested in individuals. As to Louisana the still greater prejudice that there prevails against Religion gives us very little, or rather no hopes that regulations calculated to promote its welfare would ever be received. We must therefore go on as we can, and follow the dispositions of providence. We cannot complain. We have some establishments that we look

upon as the support of Religion in this country. That of the Jesuits in Florissant is composed of four priests, four clergymen who have already finihed their course of divinity, and three brothers; they take care of three or four congregations; they have besides an Indian seminary wherein young Indians are instructed both in Religion, and in the arts of civilized life. In the same Village of Florissant there is a very flourishing female institution belonging to the Ladies of the Society of the Sacred Heart, who have lately received canonical approbation from the Holy See, they have about twenty-four young ladies of the best families of this state, a good number of externs, some orphans, and even some young Indian girls. Here at the Barrens we have another institution for females, directed by seventeen Sisters, a good number of orphans are here brought up gratis, with some others both boarders and externs, who pay a very modic pension. Finally our Ecclesiastical Seminary of St. Mary directed by priests of the Congregation of the Missions, is dayly acquiring new consistency. There are six priests and nine brothers of the same Congregation; about a dozen young clergymen, and several boys chiefly supported by the institution. The Catholic congregation in the neighbourhood of the Seminary is very numerous, and regular; several others who on account of their poverty, or the little number of their members cannot support a priest are visited by the Clergymen of the Seminary who go as far as New Madrid and even some times the Arkansas Territory. Twenty four priests who have at least made all their course of divinity in this Seminary have been ordained since its establishment, and I had the satisfaction last September of conferrng the sacred Order of the Pristhood to three Deacons who have made here all their studies, and two of whom, are natives of this country, and to ordain two subdeacons, of whom one is likewise a native of this State. We have a good prospect of succeeding in raising a national clergy. The whole clergy of this Upper part of the former Diocese of Louisiana was present at the consecration of the Right Revd. Michael Portier, which I had the pleasure of performing in St. Louis on the 5th of November last. They were thirty in number, of whom thirteen priests, two subdeacons, and the others in inferior orders. I suppose You are already informed that an Apostolic Vicariate has been lately erected by the Holy See comprising the Churches of the Florida, and Alabama. The above mentioned Dr. Portier, Bishop of Olenos has been intrusted with the care of that district. Besides, since the demission given by the Right Revd. Dr. Du Bourg, of the old Diocese has been divided

in two. That of New-Orl. composed of the States of Louisiana and Mississippi; and that of St. Louis the State of Missouri, the Territory of Arkansas, and the other territories of this side of the Mississippi. The administration of both has been given to me until the Pope name another Bishop. My wishes are to remain in Missouri; I hope they will be gratified.

Excuse me if I have detained you too long with these accounts. I have thought they would not displease you. Accept the most sincere protestation of the profound respect, esteem, and attachment with which the least of your Brothers remains &c.

Joseph Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.

Book C, No. 143 of the Abstract of Correspondence contains the following request:

St. Louis, July 14, 1830.

Irez-vous en Irlande? Je vous prie de ne pas oublier la promesse que vous m'avez faite de me procurer deux bons prêtres. &c.

This is all I could obtain of Bishop Rosati's letters to Bishop John England.

Rev. John Rothensteiner.

St. Louis, Missouri.

NECROLOGY

REVEREND ANTHONY ZURBONSEN

Again it becomes our sad duty to chronicle the death of one who was a member of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society from its beginning and who has contributed many valuable historical essays to the Historical Review.

Rev. Anthony Zurbonsen was born in Warendorf, near Muenster in Westfalia, Germany, August 15, 1860, and was therefore 66 years old at the time of his death, January 21, 1927. When in 1874 the Prussian Government inaugurated the so-called Kulturkampf against the Catholic Church in Prussia, and all religious Orders were exiled from the Fatherland, the sons of St. Francis, whose Motherhouse at that time was at Warendorf, where they had been established for 250 years from the time of the Reformation, decided to emigrate to North America, where in 1859 they had already founded missions at Teutopolis and Quincy, Illinois, and St. Louis, Mo. Several young men, among them the subject of this sketch, young Anthony Zurbonsen, 15 years old, accompanied them to their new field of labor in the vineyard of the Lord. In 1875 they arrived in Teutopolis, Ill., where Zurbonsen took up his classical studies at St. Joseph's College, conducted by the Franciscan Fathers of the St. Louis Province. Having finished his classical studies there, he affiliated with the Diocese of Alton and was sent by Bishop P. J. Baltes to continue his studies in the Grand Seminary, Montreal, Canada. He completed his theological studies in St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, with high honors and was ordained priest June 29, 1885 by the Most Rev. Archbishop Michael Heiss in the Chapel of St. Francis Seminary. His first holy Mass he celebrated in St. Peter and Paul's Church, Naperville, Illinois, where his fatherly friend and countryman, Rev. August Wenker, was pastor. He was assisted by Father Wenker with Father B. Hasse of Petersburg, Illinois, as Deacon and Father C. Krekenberg, of Springfield, as Subdeacon and Father H. Bangen of Aurora as Master of Ceremonies, all from Warendorf, his own birthplace.

His first appointment was at Grant Fork, near Highland, Illinois, where he worked zealously from 1885 to 1888. From there he was sent to Staunton, Illinois, where he worked for ten years to 1898 and later at Ashland and Raymond to 1906. From 1906 to 1920 he worked most zealously and successfully as pastor of St. Mary's Congregation,

Quincy, Illinois. Finally on account of failing health he was forced to resign his pastorate, to the keen regret of his parishioners and his fellow priests, to whom he had endeared himself by his kind and genial character, and accepted the Chaplaincy at St. John's Sanitarium, Springfield, Illinois. Though a sick man himself he nevertheless worked among the consumptives and epileptics at that institution near Springfield, Illinois, which is under the direction of the Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Illinois, until his enfeebled health broke down completely and he died January 21, 1927. His death at St. John's Sanitarium was a fit crown for his kind, priestly and beautiful life. His funeral service in the beautiful chapel was largely attended by more than forty priests and a large number of people from Springfield, Quincy, Raymond, Ashland and other parishes in the Diocese where he had worked so faithfully. His Bishop, Rt. Rev. J. Griffin of Springfield, preached the funeral sermon in which he paid a high tribute to the noble character of the deceased, saying: "Wherever Father Zurbonsen lived and labored, he endeared himself to all young and old, rich and poor, Catholic and non-Catholic; his life was a poem filled with high and holy ideals." His mortal remains were laid to rest at the foot of the cross in the beautiful cemetery of the sanitarium.

Father Zurbonsen was a writer of some renown, a student of art and a lover of books. He was an occasional contributor to the Illinois State Historical Society and also to the Illinois Catholic Historical Review. For the last named magazine he had just lately contributed a series of articles concerning the establishment of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis at Springfield, Illinois, and its branch houses in Illinois, Wisconsin and lately even in China; and it was only by his death that he was prevented from continuing that series of highly interesting articles. He was a very fluent and interesting writer; his *Rambles through Europe, the Holy Land and Egypt*; his trips to *Yellowstone Park, Oregon and California*; *From Illinois to Rome* and others were published in book form and widely read; also his articles written for the *Western Catholic* of Quincy, Illinois. He also published a prayer book, *Ave Maria,* which found a wide circulation; also a book *In Memoriam* of all the priests who had worked in the diocese of Alton and had been called by death from the scenes of their labors.

Proofs of his fine artistic taste may be seen at St. Mary's Church, Quincy, Illinois, in the beautiful paintings and statuary imported by him from Tyrol, especially in the beautiful "Pieta" and the wonderful scene of the "Last Supper," carved in wood, as an antependium of the High Altar in that church.

Father Zurbonsen leaves three brothers, a sister and many other relatives in Germany, Frederic Zurbonsen, formerly Professor at the University of Muenster, now retired; Bernard, formerly Captain of the North German Lloyd of Bremen, likewise now retired; Joseph at home in Warendorf, Sister Regulata, Superior of the Motherhouse of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis at Muenster, and many nieces and nephews. One of his nieces, Miss Paula Zurbonsen, entered the Sisterhood of the Hospital Sisters of St. Francis, Springfield, Illinois, last year and is now Sister Regula.

May Almighty God be a merciful judge to him and grant him eternal rest. This is the pious wish of his lifelong friend and countryman.

REV. C. KREKENBERG.

Quincy, Illinois.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Early History of the Missouri River.—The Nebraska History Magazine for February 15 has devoted a whole number to the Missouri River—its discovery and exploration, steamboating and early navigation, fur trade, and governmental improvement of the river down to the signing by President Coolidge on January 22 of the Missouri River bill, authorizing the expenditure of $12,000,000 as the first step toward making the river a six-foot channel from Kansas City to Sioux City. That intrepid pioneer and explorer, Father Marquette, on June 17, 1673, discovered the Mississippi and began canoeing down its placid waters. A few days later, he writes, "we heard a noise of a rapid into which we were about to fall. I have seen nothing more frightful, a mass of large trees entire with branches, real floating islands came frorm Pekitanoui (Missouri River) so impetuous that we could not without great danger expose ourselves to pass across. The agitation was so great that the water was all muddy and could not get clear. The Pekitanoui is a considerable river, coming from the northwest and empties into the Mississippi. Many towns are located on this river and I hope by it to make discovery of the Vermillion or California sea." Thus this mighty river burst and roared into view of the first white man. What would he have thought could he have realized the weary stretches of prairie to be crossed before man could reach the "Vermillion sea"! La Salle saw the Missouri in 1682 on his voyage of exploration south from the mouth of the Illinois River. His companion Tonty seems then to have first heard of Indians using horses in war and the chase. La Salle had the idea of obtaining horses from the Pawnees to carry goods from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River. Various other passages translated from the French archives appear in this number telling of later voyages and reports of the Indian tribes on the Missouri. Pictures showing the early books of travel. A fine collection of photographs of Missouri and Mississippi steamboats has been presented to the Nebraska State Historical Society by the widow of Dr. A. J. Williams of Omaha, who gathered them during a lifetime.

Fort St. Antoine on the Mississippi.—"In 1686 Nicolas Perrot, fur trader, forest diplomat and commander of the remote trading posts of New France, came to the beautiful cliff region on the east shore of Lake Pepin,"—as the expansion of the channel of the Mis-

sissippi River along the west shore of Pepin County, Wisconsin, is called—"and there, probably near the present village of Stockholm, built Fort Antoine, one of the far-flung posts designed to maintain in the Sioux country the authority of the distant French monarch, Louis XIV." So writes W. A. Titus in one of a series of sketches of historic spots in Wisconsin which he is contributng to the Wisconsin Magazine of History (March, 1927). By maintaining this fort here for five or six years, with a garrison that "never exceeded fifteen or twenty white men," Perrot opened up to the fur trade the rich and hitherto unexploited Sioux country. Perrot was a trader in 1667 when with some companions he visited Lake Superior. He gained the confidence of the Wisconsin Indians and was present at the great pageant that St. Lusson staged at the Sault in 1671 when he took possession of all lands "discovered or to be discovered, bounded on the one side by the Northern and Western seas and on the other side by the South Sea." This pageant suggested to Perrot the idea of a similar one that in 1689 he arranged for impressing the unstable Sioux and by which he took possession of the wilderness of western Wisconsin. A recent news dispatch from Eau Claire, Wisconsin, states that the ceremonies held in 1689 at the old French fort on Lake Pepin near here by which Nicolas Perrot took possession of all land west of the great lakes for France, will be reproduced by the Eau Claire post of the American Legion on the site of the fort May 8. The Wisconsin Historical Society and possibly the Minnesota Historical Society will assist." "Perrot presented to the mission of St. Francis Xavier the beautiful ostensorium that may now be seen in the State Historical Museum at Madison." The fort was probably burned. A party, searching in 1857 for wrought-iron nails among the ruins of the "old French fort," found there charcoal and ashes.

Where Did Radisson Go?—In a manuscript, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in which Radisson gives an account of his famous third voyage, occurs a mysterious word: "Auxoticiat." The heading of the passage reads: "Now followeth the Auxoticiat voyage into the great and filthy Lake of the Hurrons, Upper Sea of the East, and Bay of the North." A writer, Edward C. Gale, in Minnesota History, organ of the Minnesota Historical Society, for December, 1926, suggests that the scribe, not understanding the French name for the Ottawa Indians, has written as a name what is really two words: Aux Oticiat, i. e., Aux Otauack,—"to the Ottawa." These people in Radisson's time resided around the upper end of Lake

Huron and played an important part in the annals of the period." Miss Kellogg, in a note in her "Early Narratives of the Northwest" writes: "The great flotillas coming down to Canada with furs were said to come from the Ottawa, while the region of the upper lakes was known as the Ottawa Country" (op. cit. 36 n.) Radisson, therefore, refers to his voyage as "The Ottawa Voyage," an interpretation which, Gale says, "has common sense and is historically and geographically correct."

St. Peter's and St. Paul, Minnesota, In 1839.—At the junction of the Minnesota River, called by the French St. Pierre, with the Mississippi the Americans in 1819 erected a fort which, with the trading post across the river and the neighboring Indian agency, was called St. Peter's. An account of the visit of the first bishop, Rt. Rev. Mathias Loras of Dubuque, to this hitherto unvisited portion of his immense diocese, is given by M. M. Hoffmann in Minnesota History for March, 1927. In a letter to his sister, dated July 26, 1839, Bishop Loras thus describes his visit:

"I left Dubuque on the 23rd of June, on board a large and magnificent steam vessel, and was accompanied by the Abbé Pelamourgues and a young man, who served us as interpreter with the Sioux. After a successful voyage of some days along the superb Mississippi and the beautiful lake Pepin, we reached St. Peter's. . . . Our arrival was a cause of great joy to the Catholics, who had never before seen a Priest or Bishop in these remote regions; they manifested a great desire to assist at divine worship, and to approach the Sacraments of the Church. . . . The Catholics of St. Peter's amounted to one hundred and eighty-five, fifty-six of whom we baptized, administered confirmation to eight, communion to thirty-three adults, and gave the nuptial benediction to four couple."

The names of the persons whom Bishop Loras baptized have been printed for the first time in the paper before us, from the original records made by the Bishop and now forming part of the baptismal record of St. Raphael Cathedral, Dubuque, Iowa. "Stately patronymics of old France stand out in the bishop's peculiar writing on the time-honored pages. . . . The names of some of the women are redolent of the fluer-de-lis and cathedral incense." Along with them are names of Sioux women married to French husbands. Many of these families Mr. Hoffmann has taken the pains to identify.

The Newberry Library, Chicago.

WM. STETSON MERRILL.

BOOK REVIEWS

George Rogers Clark—His Life and Public Services, by Temple Bodley. Published by Houghton Mifflin Co.

The author makes a careful study of an almost forgotten hero, of an almost forgotten episode of American Revolutionary History and yet George Rogers Clark won for the United States that great expanse of land known as the Northwest Territory and so made possible the onward march of the American Republic toward the setting sun through the subsequent Louisiana Purchase. As the author points out the reason for the small place accorded to Clark in American histories, is that his exploits were performed in a vast wilderness many miles from the fringe of settlements along the eastern coast and consequently far from the printing presses through which the battles of the east were made known to the contemporary population and preserved for posterity.

This book represents great toil. The greater part of the facts have been laboriously dug out of contemporary letters and manuscripts preserved in historical collections both public and private. It is thoroughly annotated and references are given for each statement.

This book is of particular interest to the readers of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review since it records the prominent part played by the French Catholics, emigrants to this region when its forts flew the white flag of France, in throwing off the British Dominion and securing this territory for the new republic. The territory was governed by the British, from the fort in Detroit under command of Colonel Hamilton of the British regular army whose duty was to enlist the savages against the settlers in case they rebelled against the British crown. How well he performed this duty is indicated by the name "Hair buyer" given him because of his traffic in human scalps. Hence the danger that confronted the inhabitants of this region was real and frightful. The Indians spared no one. As much was paid by the Lieutenant Governor of Detroit, for the scalp of a woman or child as for one of a man.

Mr. Bodly says (p. 54), "George III himself wrote, 'every means of distressing Americans must meet with my concurrence'. With mock humanity he directed that the Indians be 'restrained from committing violence upon the well affected and inoffensive.' The savages were to be turned loose only upon his own rebelling subjects. His minister declared that, 'to bring the war to a more

speedy issue and restore these deluded people to their former state of happiness and prosperity are the favorite wishes of the Royal Breast and the great object of all His Majesty's measures' but in the next sentence added: 'a supply of presents for the Indians and other necessaries will be wanted for your service and you will of course send Lieut. Gov. Hamilton what is proper and sufficient'. Amongst such 'necessaries' sent were, 'red handled scalping knives' by gross—sixteen gross or two thousand five hundred and four knives in one consignment. Hamilton wrote Carleton January 15, 1768, (p. 54) 'The parties sent ont from hence have been in general successful tho' the Indians have lost men enough to sharpen their resentment. They have brought in seventy-three prisoners alive, twenty of which they presented to me and one hundred and twenty-nine scalps.' Of the fifty-three unfortunates who were not 'presented' to Hamilton, some were probably made slaves, some few adopted into the tribes, and the rest tomahawked, or tortured to death. The favorite mode of torture was by slow burning at the stake, accompanied with merciless beating, and demoniacal shouting and dancing.''

Clark invaded this region seeking the capture of Vincennes on the Wabash in the present State of Indiana with a small force. It would have been impossible for him to have traversed this region or to have captured Vincennes without the aid given him by the French settlers. Clark's appreciation of the assistance rendered him by Father Gibault, the priest stationed at Fort Vincennes is indicated (p. 73) " 'From some things that I had learned, I had some reason to suspect that Mr. Gibault, the priest, was inclined to the American interest previous to our arrival in the country. . . . I made no doubt of his integrity. I sent for him and had (a) long conference with him on the subject of Vincennes. In answer to all my queries, he informed me that he did not think it was worth my while to cause any military preparation to be made at the Falls for (an) attack on Vincennes, although the place was strong and a great number of Indians in (its) neighborhood, who to his knowledge were generally at war; that Gov. Abbot had a few weeks (before) left the place on some business at Detroit; that he expected that when the inhabitants were fully acquainted with what had passed at the Illinois towns and the present happiness of their friends, and made fully acquainted with the nature of the war . . . their sentiments would greatly change; that he knew that his appearance there would have great weight, even amongst the savages; that, if it was agreeable to me, he would take his business

on himself, and had no doubt of his being able to bring that place over to the American interest, without my being at the trouble of marching troops against it; that, his business being altogether spiritual, he wished that another person might be charged with the temporal part of the embassy, but that he would privately direct the whole etc. He named Dr. Laffont as his associate.

'This was perfectly agreeable to what I had been secretly aiming at for some days. The plan was immediately settled, and the two doctors, with their intended retinue, among whom I had a spy, set about preparing for their journey, and set out on the 14th of July with . . . great numbers of letters from their friends to the inhabitants . . . Mr. Gibault (had) verbal instructions how to act in certain cases . . . (He and his) party arrived safe, and, after their spending a day or two in explaining matters to the people, they universally acceded to the proposal, (except a few emissaries that were left by Mr. Abbott, that immediately left the country), and went in a body to the church, where the oath of allegiance was administered to them in the most solemn mannerr. An officer, (Captain Bosseron) was elected, and the fort immediately (garrisoned), and the American flag displayed, to the astonishment of the Indians, and everything settled far beyond our most sanguine hopes.

'The people there immediately began to put on a new face and to talk in a different style and to act as perfect freemen, with a garrison their own, with the United States at their elbows. Their language to the Indians was immediately altered. They began as citizens of the state, and informed the Indians that their old Father, the King of France, was come to life again and had joined the Big Knife, and was mad at them for fighting for the English: that they would advise them to make peace with the Americans as soon as they could, otherwise they might expect the land to be very bloody, etc. (The Indians) began to think seriously throughout those countries. This was now the kind of language they generally got from their ancient friends of the Wabash and Illinois, through the means of their correspondence breeding among the nations. Our batteries began now to play in a proper channel. . . . Mr. Gibault and party accompanied by several gentlemen of Vincennes, returned about the first of August with the joyful news.' "

Hamilton pays his respects to Father Gibault in his diary (p. 94) "Gibault the priest, has been active for the rebels. I shall reward him if possible.

It has been said that republics are ungrateful. There were disputes as to who should pay the necessary bills. Clark sacrificed his personal fortune (p. 193) "most of the officers—nothing daunted by the failure of the state to pay for their services, or even to repay their money outlays in her behalf—and many of their French friends, personally endorsed the state bills, or gave their personal bonds to procure supplies for the troops. Few of them were ever relieved of these obligations, or reimbursed either by the state, or the United States, which later undertook to pay them. Shannon, Helm, Father Gibault, Cerre, Montgomery, Vigo, Bosseron, LeGras, Linctot, McCarty, Floyd, and many others were thus sorely embarrassed or ruined. When the holders of claims on the state presented them at Richmond (sometimes after journeying five hundred or a thousand miles, and after long months of weary waiting), they were oftenest referred to the roving commission of western accounts in some unknown part of the great west.

The book is very readable as is apparent from the extracts given, many of which are quoted in the quaint language of the chronicles of the time. It is unnecessary to add that the topography ard arrangement are still all that could be desired.

JOHN V. MCCORMICK, J. D.

Loyola University, Chicago, Ill.

Universal Knowledge. The Universal Knowledge Foundation, New York, 1927.

A general encyclopedia is indispensable to the student of history and a new encyclopedia is surely needed. The swift march if events in every sphere, in politics, literature, science, sociology and even in religion requires a new record. Were it simply a march of normal progress the record might be made by revising or altering what was already in print. Changes, however, which are really revolutionary now require books of general information altogether new. They require also that much of the old information to be discarded as no longer human interest, and that the new be presented in the most compact form possible, if our general works of reference are to be kept within reasonable limits.

New material is not so difficult to find. With the latest standard books and reference works at hand, the subjects of vital interest in the daily press and high-class reviews, correspondence with advisers in every part of the world and the collaborations of hundreds of writers, the editors can overlook few, if any, matters of real importance.

The day is past when a general encyclopedia can be a collection of extensive treatises on every subject, admit biographies of men and women of transient celebrity, or restate in a biography what should be treated under the title of the subject for which the person referred to was noted. In a hundred such ways editors of encyclopedias can and must economize space, and, besides, exercise unsparingly every repetition of the same matter, all diffuseness of style and every waste word, particularly laudatory epithets and excess adjectives.

Other general reference works have been doubling their number of volumes, but the editors of Universal Knowledge, by careful study and by constant vigilance against overlapping and useless repetitions, have found that all the general inquirer needs to know can be put in twelve compact volumes. Conciseness is one of the distinctive merits of this work.

Volume I, which covers the letter "A", gives promise that the work will be one of great worth particularly to the lover of history. Among the more important titles, historically speaking, we find excellent articles on Abyssinia, Alaska, Archaeology and Argentina. Seventeen maps, printed specially for the work in four colors and giving the latest geographical information on the territory covered, are included in this first volume.

That the historical articles will be adequately handled is indicated by the fact that contributors to Volume I include writers like, Conde B. Pallen, Charles Hallan McCarthy, Ph. D., Franz Kampers, Ph. D., Professor of Medieval and Modern History, Breslau, Henri Froidevaux, Professor of Modern History, Institut Catholique, Paris, Henry J. Schroeder, O. P., Professor of History, Providence College, Leo F. Stock, Ph. D., Lawrence J. Kenny, S. J., Patrick J. Healy, Ph. D., Richard J. Purcell, Ph. D.

HISTORY IN THE PRESS

BISHOP MULDOON RESIGNS FROM N. C. W. C. ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

Our readers will learn with deep regret of the resignation, due to ill health, of Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, as a member of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and episcopal chairman of the N. C. W. C. Department of Social Action.

As one of the four Administrative Bishops of the National Catholic War Council and, since its organization, one of the seven Administrative Bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Bishop Muldoon has worked unselfishly and untiringly, not only in the organization and operation of his particular departmest, but in the promotion of the general objectives of the Conference as well.

What this department has done under Bishop Muldoon's sterling leadership to acquaint both Catholics and non-Catholics with the social teachings of the Church and to encourage the practice of those teachings, is well known to *Bulletin readers*.. The platform and policy of his department were built upon the wisdom of the illustrious Leo XIII and the *Program of Social Reconstruction,* which Bishop Muldoon, with three other fellow members of the American Hierarchy, sponsored, embodied the teachings of that great pontiff and has been pointed to as one of the finest pronouncements of Catholic principles affecting the field of labor and industry ever issued.

The Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems and the Catholic Rural Life Conference are two developments of Bishop Muldoon's administration. The Civic Education Program of the Conference, another of his immediate responsibilities, has brought great credit to the Conference and the appreciation of numerous civic leaders outside the Church. *American Catholics in the War,* Michael Williams' stirring story of Catholic sacrifice and service, was dedicated to Bishop Muldoon.

American Catholics owe a tremendous debt of gratitude to this illustrious leader. It is hoped that, relieved of the numerous outside responsibilities which he so cheerfully assumed and so ably executed, Bishop Muldoon will regain his normal health. Members of the *Bulletin* family will, we know, earnestly pray that this may soon be so and will look forward to the time when, with health returned, he may again take up actively the work in which he has so spledidly served his Church and country.—N. C. W. C. *Bulletin,* May, 1927.

CATHOLIC WAR RECORDS

The May issue of *Extension Magazine* presents a special article entitled "When the War Drums Throbbed" describing the magnitude of war facts as assembled by the N. C. W. C. Bureau of Historical Records. An opportunity is given to the reader to observe how generously Catholics in various states exceeded their quota contribution to the armed forces.

The Bureau's collection of death casualties of Catholics during the World War, as yet incomplete, numbers 22,000 or approximately 23 per cent of the total American battle deaths.

It is believed that facts assembled by the N. C. W. C. Bureau will show that Catholics of the United States furnished approximately 120 per cent of their mathematical quota of service personnel for the World War, nowithstanding unavoidably is complete parish records that we are admitted in some communities.

Hundreds of parishes are engaged in making up honor rolls of war service people or perfecting lists that were allowed to stand as of April or May of 1918. The lay societies in many dioceses are giving generous aid toward perfecting our Catholic war records.

N. C. W. C. Bulletin, May, 1927.

SPLENDID ORGANIZATION OF NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC WOMEN EFFECTED IN BELLVILLE DIOCESE

The executive board of the National Council of Catholic Women of the Belleville Diocese held its meeting recently in the Community House, East St. Louis. Mrs. Louise Boismenue, diocesan chairman, presided and announced the appointment of diocesan committees. Limited space does not permit printing the list, but on reading it one realizes what a splendid piece of organization has been effected in the Belleville Diocese. The representatives came from every section. There cannot fail to develop a spirit of unity and Catholic zeal where Catholic women come together in this way.

The special projects to be undertaken by the Council are: Rural vacation schools; hospital for tubercular patients; co-operation with Rev. John J. Fallon, superintendent of schools of the diocese, with Rev. Albert Zuroweste, in charge of juvenile court work, and with the secretaries of the Community House in immigration work.

The program of the Council is under the direct supervision of Rt. Rev. Henry Althoff, D. D., Bishop of Belleville, and Monsignor Charles Gilmartin.

The Board took advantage of this meeting to endorse whole-heartedly the plans for the Northwestern Territory exposition at Cahokia, which is a part of the celebration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the northwestern acquisition. The resolution emphasized the fact that Cahokia is the birthplace of Christianity in that part of the United States which lies west of the Allegheny mountains inasmuch as the first permanent parish was established there in 1699 by Fathers Pinet and St. Cosme. It emphasized also the services of Father Pierre Gibault, whose history is so intimately connected with the acquisition of the Northwest Territory.

N. C. W. C. Bulletin, May, 1927.

THE CATHOLIC ORDER OF FORESTERS

On Wednesday, April 27th, the Catholic Order of Foresters presented to the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C., a gift of $50,000.00 as a votive offering to the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception now in process of erection there.

A tablet in memory of the soldiers and sailors of the Order who died during the World War will be installed in the Shrine. Over 10,000 members of the Catholic Order of Foresters, many of them from Illinois, answered the call of their country during the war, and of these 382 gave up their lives.

During its 44 years of existence the Foresters have given liberally to all the works of religion, education and charity. To it credit stands the donation of $30,000.00 to the Catholic Church Extension Society of the United States, $25,000.00 to St. Mary's of the Lake Seminary at Mundelein, Illinois, large donations during the World War to the suffering people of Europe, contributions to sufferers in disasters, and innumerable contributions to churches, seminaries and charitable institutions throughout the land. $1,000,000.00 has thus been disbursed during the past 44 years. During the war the Society subscribed $2,000,000.00 in Liberty bonds.

The good work of the Foresters is due in great measure to Thomas H. Cannon, High Chief Ranger, of Chicago. Other Illinois officers of the national organization are, Thomas F. McDonald, High Secretary, Dr. J. P. Smyth, High Medical Examiner, and John E. Stephan, Leo J. Winiecki and P. E. Callaghan, High Trustees, all of Chicago.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, reported in the *Catholic Historical Review,* April, 1927, New Series, V. VII, pp. 3-28, give proof again of the excellent work being done by American Catholic historians. The marvel of it is that the work is being carried on with practically no help from our fellow Catholics at large. We find for instance that the total membership, as of December 31, 1926, was only 517, that only 104 of this total were lay people. Coming to our own confines we note that Illinois has only 28 members; though it is encouraging to read that one-fourth of that number were added, during the year.

Why this apathy on the part of intelligent Catholics who are genuinely interested in matters historical? We venture to say that if an investigation were made it would be found that Well's *Outline of History* has been purchased by five to ten thousand Catholics since its first publication. Why then do we have only a meager half-thousand indicating their interest in Catholic history to the extent of becoming members in the American Catholic Historical Association?

The writer, who assisted in some measure to guide the destines of the *Catholic Historical Review* (the organ of A. C. H. A.) during the first year of its existence and who for the past few years has tenderly nurtured the financial well-being of our own REVIEW, believes that this lack of appreciation is due to the fact that we are neglecting to let Catholics know what is being offered in the way of Catholic historical writings and activities. The budget of every Catholic historical organization should contain an appropriation for advertsing and publicity. This appropriation would, of course, have to be small in most cases, but the results would be most gratifying.

Not that we believe in trying to cajole Catholics into subscribing to something in which they are not interested. It is unnecessary to point out that a majority of our Catholics (just as a majority of Americans) are not interested in the serious study of history. But it is our firm belief that among the twenty millions of Catholics in the United States, there are twenty thousand who are sufficiently interested in Catholic history and are sufficiently affluent to spend five dollars a year to become members of the A. C. H. A. And we believe also that of these twenty thousand there should be three or four thousand Catholics in Illinois who would be glad to spend another three dollars for membership in our own Illinois Catholic Historical Society.

It would be interesting to know what our readers think of this matter. Some of the members of the Society boil over at times with indignation at the fact that historical matters are so neglected by Catholics. Our faith is firm however in the belief that our problem is not to arouse Catholics to an interest in Catholic history but simply to make known to those who are interested what our Associations and Societies are doing.

BOURBONNAIS WAS FIRST VILLAGE ON KANKAKEE RIVER

Bourbonnais, Ill., Feb. 27.—Her claims of distinction as being the mother of Kankakee, St. Anne, Le Erable, Papineau and all the French Canadian colonies of Kansas, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas, have made this village of about 450 French descendants content to rest on her laurels while her children grow and thrive.

The village is unique because its inhabitants are almost exclusively of French descent. It it the home also of St. Viator's college which has a student body numbering 410.

It was the first settlement on the Kankakee River, and took its name from Francis Bourbonnais, Sr., whom historians say lived in this vicinity over a century ago. The exact date or year of his coming has not been ascertained. Tradition says that he married an Indian girl.

An early trader by the name of Noel LeVasseur gave the settlement its French characteristics by settling here in 1832 and becoming Bourbonnais' first actual white settler. He also married an Indian woman, but she left him and went with her own people.

LeVasseur, accounts say, then took a trip into Canada to secure more white people for his village. He came back without even one companion, but his stories of the fertility of the soil and the good fortunes awaiting settlers in this village had their effect and in 1844 immigration from Canada to Bourbonnais began.

That year came the Rivards, St. Pierres, Flageoles, Legris, Delunais, Lapolice, Martins, and other prominent families whose descendants today form part of the population of the village.

For years all immigrants from Canada whatever their ultimate objective, came first to Bourbonnais and made this the base of their first plans for journeys into surrounding lands and territories. The French immigration practically ceased in 1852.

LeVasseur died in 1879 "full of years and honor," as one historian puts it. The village has not grown and still retains most of the characteristics of the early French towns in America.

Its town roster contains French names with few exceptions. Its people are content to provide the home for St. Viators college, and live as they have for a century, without the humdrum of industry. Within four miles, the home of Governor Small, Kankakee is adding to its population of 19,000 people and a goodly number of industries.

With a historical background that is unequalled in Illinois for Indian lore and quaint French tradition, Bourbonnais neither grows nor dwindles.

ALTON PLANNING RIVER SIDE PARK TO REPLACE RUINS

(*By Associated Press*)

Alton, Ill., Jan. 6.—Plans for replacing charred ruins of the historic old city hall of Alton with a river side park are being considered by the city council and Mayor George T. Davis of Alton.

The city was forbidden by the Illinois supreme court recently to build a new city hall on the old grounds, for it held that the land was the property of the state and that it could not be used for municipal purposes. Accordingly Mayor Davis has proposed that the grounds which are in a beautiful location overlooking the river, might be improved with the consent of the state and made into a public park.

The picturesque old building was razed about a year ago while a petition was being made to modernize it and make it fireproof. It has taken a large part in early Illinois history, and was the scene of many historic events in pioneer days. The burning of the building removed a landmark which has been pointed out to tourists by boatmen on the river for many years.

The building had approached the century mark when it burned, and was filled with lore of the early days of the state. It stood near the place where the printing press belonging to Elijah P. Lovejoy, Bostonian anti-slavery agitator, was thrown into the river. Alton was at that time one of the rising cities of the middle west, and mail sent to St. Louis was addressed "near Alton." Lovejoy was finally killed by Illinois pro-slavery agitators and eastern capital which was responsible for Alton's prosperity was suddenly withdrawn.

Daniel Webster once spoke from the steps of the building, and many other early figures in American and Illinois history spoke there.

The blackened ruins of the building still stand as they did when the building was burned. Timbers and bricks lie about, and the cells of the jail are still intact underground.

"While it is not mandatory upon us to remove the wreckage," Mayor Davis said in his message to the city council, "yet let us

demonstrate by our action that we possess pride in the appearance of our city and speedily take the necesary steps to remedy the unsightly conditions as they exist today on the city hall square."

CAIRO HAS NEW HOPE FOR GREAT CITY

(*By Associated Press*)

Cairo, Ill., March 20.—Dreams of the Jesuit followers of Marquette and Joliet, of early explorers who followed the windings of the Mississippi and Ohio in their canoes, and of the men who stood at the convergence of the two streams and visioned a great city controlling lanes of traffic bearing the commerce of a nation are approaching realization in the dreams of a new Cairo, built by the trade along the improved waterways.

Early plans for the city have been recalled following the improvement of the Ohio channel by the construction of fifty-two locks and dams, and the possibility of a lakes-to-gulf waterway from Chicago to New Orleans over the Illinois and Mississippi rivers. A bill now pending in Congress for the construction of a tri-state bridge connecting Cairo with Kentucky and Missouri, replacing the old ferries now in service, has also given rise to the hope that more roads will lead to Cairo.

Such plans have figured in the life of Cairo since it was first considered as a site for a city. Jesuit priests who followed their Indian guides about over the rivers invariably spoke of the conjunction of the two rivers in their memoirs as the location of a future city which would control the trade and commerce of the empire lying in the basin of the two great streams.

One of the first of the explorers to take advantage of the location was Juchereau de St. Denis, who established a trading post and tannery there in 1702. This first venture was unsuccessful, however, for the Indians, after waiting until his store of skins was ready for removal, swooped down upon him, killing most of the members of his party and taking the skins. St. Denis himself narrowly escaped with his life.

The first organized attempt to develop the country was made by the Illinois Land Company. It was organized on July 5, 1773, and the territory between the two rivers as far north as a line between Shawneetown and Kaskaskia was purchased from the Indians. For this immense tract of land the company gave the Indians 250 blankets, 260 strouds, 350 shirts, 150 pair of strouds and half-thick stockings, 150 stroud breechcloths, 500 pounds of gunpowder, 4,000 pounds of

lead, one gross knives, 30 pounds of vermilion, 2,000 gun flints, 200 pounds brass kettles, 200 pounds tobacco, 36 gilt mirrors, one gross gun warms, two gross awls, one gross fire steels, 16 dozen of gartering, 10,000 pounds of flour, 500 bushels of Indian corn, 12 horses, 12 horned cattle, 20 bushels of salt, 20 guns, and five shillings in money.

Development of the important site at the junction of the two rivers did not come until some time later, however. The township was surveyed in 1807, and an act to incorporate the city and bank of Cairo was passed on January 9, 1818. This venture ended in failure as did several other attempts later. The fact that the swollen currents of the two streams inundated the site was an ever-present obstacle to those who tried to build a metropolis on the river banks.

At one time a real estate company was organized and New York and London bankers were induced to invest money in a new enterprise. Charles Dickens was one of the men who bought stock. But even these loans failed to instill the life necessary for a successful execution of the plans for the promoters. Cairo remained a straggling village.

Because of its strategic position, Cairo was a jealously guarded union stronghold during the Civil War. At the close of the war, the city again revived its hopes, for it was thought that post-war development and progress would give it its place as head of traffic on the two rivers. But these hopes, like so many before them, were never realized.

Now, the present-day Cairo, watching the long series of dams and locks in the Ohio River near completion, dreaming of the numerous barges which will ply back and forth throughout the year; listening to plans to make the Mississippi the greatest inland waterway in the world by the construction of the canal from Chicago to the Illinois River; and anxiously awaiting the action of Congress on the bill which will do away with its ancient ferries; Cairo, seeing these wonders planned, is hoping again.

Compiled by Teresa L. Maher.

Joliet, Illinois.

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SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE MORSE AND THE ANTI-CATHOLIC POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

(1791-1872)

INTRODUCTION

The subject of this essay is the part played by the well-known inventor of the telegraph, Samuel F. B. Morse, in the rise and development of the anti-Catholic political movements in the United States. Morse's life spanned almost a century. He was born in 1791 and died in 1872. Those years, particularly to the outbreak of the Civil War, witnessed a large output of anti-Catholic literature in the United States. Chief among the books published from 1791 to 1860 must be placed Morse's violent attack upon the Catholic Church, which he published in 1835 under the title: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws.* This little volume has become very scarce with the passing of the years, and we have been fortunate in having a photostatic copy from the transcripts in Dr. Guilday's collection for our use. An analysis of the volume is given in this essay.

To bring out in relief the contrast of Morse's exceptional education and culture, his inventive genius, and his high literary taste with his rabid and violent intolerance towards the Catholic Church, it has been thought necessary to sketch Morse's life, his education, and his singular opportunities of learning the truth about Catholicism. The subject of religious intolerance is not a pleasant one; nor can it be approached without the fear that one's readers may suspect an ulterior motive in the treatment of its various phases. Moreover, religious intolerance in the history of the United States has centered around one Church, namely, the Catholic Church. It has

been against Catholics that the periodic outbursts of religious bigotry have been directed; and for that very reason, one will search in vain the historical literature of our country for a complete and adequate description of these anti-Catholic movements. The same is true to a large extent in the historical works of Catholics. The tendency is rather to forget these unpleasant episodes in our national history, on the score that such intolerance never represents the real heart of the American people, and that to revive these forgotten memories of vicious and unwarranted attacks upon the Church smacks somewhat of a lessened patriotic outlook on our national past. Charity, would, indeed, suggest that these events be forgotten; but the truth is that even with the passing of the years which have brought a closer unity among the American people, the anti-Catholicism of the past is not a dead issue in our social and political development. Consequently, to meet the issues which arise at any moment, a thorough study should be made of all the causes underlying this apparently ineradicable attitude on the part of so many outside the Catholic Church.

Each decade of the nineteenth century has its own peculiar method of giving life and support to anti-Catholicism in the United States. Each section of the country viewed the growing strength of the Catholic Church from its own local standpoint. Each movement, whether of the Native Americans, the Know-Nothings, the American Protective Association, or the Ku Klux Klan, should have its own historian. To approach so large a problem in a general way is a very difficult proceeding, owing to the varied factors in each phase of the anti-Catholic movements of the past. Hence arises the necessity of a monographic treatment of the question. It will only be after each of these phases and factors and sectional viewpoints has been studied separately that the Church historian may proceed to a generalization of the facts contained in such monographs.

The present essay centers its study about one man, and that man an outstanding figure in American life, Samuel F. B. Morse, who won undying celebrity to himself by the invention of the telegraph in 1844. The closer one approaches the casual elements of the various anti-Catholic movements, the clearer it becomes that in each of them one man is principally responsible for its rise and growth. This is especially true of Morse and the Native American Movement of the '40s. The exceptional part of Morse's place in the movement was that he had a much better education and a much wider culture than most Americans of his day. This essay endeavors to explain his part in the unsavory story of Native-Americanism.

The method we have followed in treating the subject divides it naturally into two parts, the religious and the educational influences in Morse's life up to 1844, and the place he occupied after that historic year in the Native-American and Know-Nothing political camps until his death in 1872.

The history of religious intolerance in the United States has never been fully treated. Such volumes, as Sanford Cobb's *Rise of Religious Liberty in America,* contain much that is pertinent to the subject; but for the history of the opposition to Catholicism, only scattered references can be found in Shea's *History of the Church in the United States,* and in similar works. The opposition of Protestants toward the Catholic Church in the United States from the landing at Jamestown in 1607 to the present has not been caused solely by religious intolerance. There is another powerful factor which explains much of the bigotry—the political factor. When Columbus landed here in 1492, the settlements made by the Irish and the Norsemen in Greenland and Labrador had disappeared. During the period of colonization, from 1492 to 1690, three European countries sent discoverers and colonizers to our shores. Spain colonized the West Indies, Florida, New Mexico and the Pacific Coast. England colonized the Atlantic seaboard or what are now the States along the Atlantic ocean. France colonized Canada, the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and parts of Maine. With every Spanish vessel came missionaries. Churches and schools were begun. The Indians were converted, and in every phase of their activity the Spaniards showed a benign interest for the red men. France had at the head of her colonizing activity the great figure of Cardinal Richelieu, who was one of the most broad minded Frenchmen of his time. The English colonies were peopled by settlers from England, Ireland and Scotland. The religious situation in the British Isles in the year 1607, the date of the first English settlement in America, gives rise to the question: did these early English settlers and those who followed them down to the American Revolution come to our shores imbued with the idea of religious liberty, or with the realization of the necessity of a separation between Church and State?

Colonial legislation in the English settlements from Maine to Georgia, from the year 1607 to the outbreak of the Revolution in 1775, points to the fact that, as far as religion was concerned, one fear predominated:—the presence of Catholics. Scarcely a single decade in that stretch of one hundred and sixty-seven years passed without a law in one or other of the colonies against the presence of the Church of Rome; and so imbedded were these anti-Catholic

clauses in the Constitutions of the colonies, that when the Revolution was over and the treaty of Paris signed in 1783, the Fathers of the American Constitution, under which we now live, realized that they had to deal with a strong opposition in the country against granting full religious liberty of conscience to all the citizens of the New Republic. American history has one great dividing line—the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776. In the period preceding that tremendous day, there was not a single one of the thirteen colonies, which had not at some time or other proscribed those who professed faith in the Catholic Church. In some of the colonies there were penal laws, copied from those of England, forbidding and punishing the practice of the Catholic religion, while in others, Catholics, though tolerated, were nevertheless taxed for the support of the Protestant Church, which they could not recognize and which taught that their religion was both superstitious and idolatrous and a menace to the safety of the State. Although subject to all the duties and burdens of citizenship, they were denied its privileges. They were practically disfranchised. Socially, they were ostracized.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, there were about 25,000 Catholics in the United States. From the close of the war down to 1814, the Federalist party strove to preserve the political ascendency of Protestantism in the United States. They had not then accepted the principle of religious liberty as expressed in the American Constitution, and for this as well as for other reasons the Irish and other Catholic immigrants coming into the country joined what was then the anti-Federalist or Democratic party. That is the reason why even as late as twenty-five years ago, it was a surprise to find an Irish Catholic a member of the Republican party. The Irish settled mostly in the New England States, New York State and the Middle Western States. The South owing to slavery was a very unfavorable place to the Irish immigrant.

In 1797 a bill was presented to Congress by Mr. Brooks placing a twenty dollar tax on all certificates of naturalization. A new law of June 18, 1798, provided that fourteen years of residence, and a declaration of intention five years prior to application, was necessary to naturalization. In 1802 the naturalization period was again placed at five years. The Native-Americans, with the object of placing difficulties in the way of immigration, wished to prevent naturalization until after a residence of twenty-five years; on the plea that no immigrant could acquire the necessary knowledge in a shorter time and that a too early qualification of foreigners abridged and undermined the rights of native citizens. In 1842 a bill was

presented to Congress by Mr. Walker of Mississippi to reduce the term of residence required by law for naturalization from five to two years. Federal law today prescribes a residence of five years as the prerequisite for naturalization, but the term which enables a vote to be acquired is often shorter under State laws. The United States requires that all aliens admitted to citizenship shall conform to the country's distinctive conditions and accept its ideals; that all imported traits shall be pooled in the common stock of the one composite people.

The hatred for the Irish Catholic immigrant is clearly set forth in *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws* by Morse when he says:

> The notorious ignorance in which the great mass of these immigrants have been all their lives sunk, until their minds are dead, makes them but senseless machines; they obey orders mechanically, for it is the habit of their education, in the despotic countries of their birth. And can it be for a moment supposed by any one that by the act of coming to this country, and being naturalized, their darkened intellects can suddenly be illuminated to discern the nice boundary where their ecclesiastical obedience to their priests ends, and their civil independence of them begins? They obey their priests as demigods, from the habit of their whole lives; they have been taught from infancy that their priests are infallible in the greatest matters, and can they, by mere importation to this country, be suddenly imbued with the knowledge that in civil matters their priests may err, and that they are not in these also their infallible guides? Who will teach them this? Will their priests? Let common sense answer this question. Must not the priests, as a matter of almost certainty, control the opinion of their ignorant flock in civil as well as religious matters? and do they not do it?

In spite of all that has been said and written, the Irish immigrant played a very important role, not only industrially but also politically in the nation's growth. The Irish were a potent factor in federal politics and still more so in municipal affairs. The full history of religious intolerance towards Catholicism cannot be told unless we take into consideration certain factors within the Church itself which occasioned to some extent the opposition. Chief among these factors was the problem of adjusting Catholic life to American ways. In adjusting Catholic life and action to the ideals of the new Republic during the first three decades of its organized government (1789-1820), several racial and administrative entities must be considered. The organization of the Church in the United States can be said to have begun with the consecration of Bishop John Carroll on August

15,1790. Shortly after this, two remarkable projects were organized to encroach upon his authority and jurisdiction. The first was when Propaganda yielded to the wishes of the Scioto Company and on April 26, 1790, appointed Don Didier, a monk of St. Maur, vicar-general *in spiritualibus* for the space of seven years, on condition that such jurisdiction should not conflict with that of Dr. Carroll.

Simultaneously with the Gallipolis bishopric occurred another of somewhat more ambitious design, namely, the creation of a separate bishopric for the Indians of New York State. "The consecration and installation of Bishop Carroll," writes Shea, "were coeval with a strange project to erect an episcopal See in the State of New York. While the Church was slowly gaining a permanent footing in the cities of that State, there was an attempt to establish a French mission, and strangest of all, a Bishop among the Oneida Indians, which forms one of the curious episodes in our history."[1] The object of those who managed the scheme was no less than the foundation of an Indian Primacy over the Six Nations of New York State. The Oneida tribe constituted itself the spokesman for the rest of the Nations, and the plan was fully developed before the appeal was made to Rome. Appeal was made direct to the Papal Nuncio without Bishop Carroll's knowledge or authority. On September 11, 1790, Cardinal Antonelli answered to the effect that the project had his sympathy, but that the main question at issue was whether these Indians were within the Diocese of Baltimore or that of Quebec. After careful investigation, Propaganda informed the Indian agent that all application for spiritual direction of the Six Nations should be made directly to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore. Internal troubles hindered for a time the complete administration of the American Church. Early in Carroll's episcopate, trusteeism made its appearance. The evils brought in in its train cannot be separated from the anti-Catholic movements, since once the quarrel became public, the enemies of the Church made use of these divisions as an argument for their main politico-religious thesis: that the Catholic Faith was incompatible with the republican liberties of the country.

In Philadelphia, on March 22, 1789, Father John Heilbron was elected to the pastorate of Holy Trinity Church by the trustees "acting on their self assumed right." In Boston a schism broke out, which caused Dr. Carroll much anxiety during his absence (1790) from the United States. The presence of Father John Thayer, the

[1] John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. II, p. 58. New York, 1888.

first convert from the American Protestant ministry to the Catholic Faith, and of Father Rousselet caused much trouble between the French and Irish Catholics in Boston. In 1791, Bishop Carroll went to Boston, where he succeeded in making peace between the French and Irish Catholics, when they accepted Father Thayer as their pastor. Father Rousselet was suspended in 1791. Boston was at that time, of all the cities in America, the most openly hostile to the Catholic Church, but Bishop Carroll's visit was the beginning of a better feeling. In one of his letters, June 11, 1791, written before leaving Boston, Bishop Carroll says: "It is wonderful what great civilities have been done to me in this town, where a few years ago, a 'popish' priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of their principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed the opposite side of the street, rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago."[2] It is difficult to analyze the anti-Catholic movements in the United States because they have been complex movements, the product of many and varied factors. Yet these movements are not without a moral and for the Catholic body of the United States, yesterday, today and perhaps tomorrow, they carry a special lesson. These spasmodic outbursts of anti-Catholicism teach the corporate Catholic body the lesson of the necessity of unity within its own ranks. The safest foundation for such unity is the knowledge of how the Protestants of these United States have, from the beginning, treated the Catholic Church in this country. The sordid pages of Protestant bigotry should be told often, not with bitterness, not with hatred, not for vengeance, but to venerate the bravery, loyalty and perseverance of the Catholics of the past who upheld that fundamental principle of the American Constitution: the guarantee of freedom of worship. With a knowledge of these movements in the past, we are better prepared today for the tactics of bigots and religious antagonists alike. Moreover, the better these anti-Catholic movements are known by our non-Catholic fellow-citizens, the surer we are that our rights as American citizens will receive sympathetic consideration from that better informed and unbiased portion of the nation who has always sought the truth in history and has ever recognized Catholic devotedness and loyalty to this great country.

With this general survey as a background, the purpose of this essay will be evident to the reader, namely, to describe the place Samuel F. B. Morse had in these political movements, between 1829

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[2] Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll,* New York, 1922.

and 1844, the purpose of which was the exclusion of Catholics in the political life of the nation.

I

Early Years (1791-1806)

Samuel Finley Breese Morse, American artist, poet and inventor, was born at the foot of Breed's Hill, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791.

Dr. Belknap, of Boston, writing to Postmaster-General Hazard in New York, says: "Congratulate the Monmouth Judge" (Mr. Breese, the grandfather) "on the birth of a grandson. Next Sunday he is to be loaded with names, not quite as many as the Spanish ambassador who signed the treaty of peace of 1783, but only four. As to the child, I saw him asleep, so can say nothing of his eye, or his genius peeping through it. He may have the sagacity of a Jewish rabbi, or the profundity of a Calvin, or the sublimity of a Homer, for aught I know. But time will bring forth all things."[3] This was a very curious prognostication on the birth of a child who became as widely known to the world as Calvin or Homer.

Morse's father was the minister at the Congregational Church in Charlestown, whilst his grandfather, Samuel Finley, was President of the College of New Jersey. His mother was Elizabeth Ann Breese, the daughter of Samuel Breese and Rebecca Finley, whose father was the President of Princeton College. Hence the name Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

The boy was trained by a father who was in advance of the age in which he lived. Parental discipline was not severe, but religious principles were inculcated as the source of highest enjoyment, as well as the basis of right action. When he was four years of age he was sent to a private school within a few hundred yards of the parsonage. At the age of seven, he was sent to the preparatory school of Mr. Foster, at Andover, where he was fitted for entering Phillips Academy. It was about this time that Boston Catholics received as their permanent pastor, Father John Cheverus, who arrived in the little city on October 3, 1796. The spirit of the times can best be seen in an incident which occurred four years later. While in Maine, in January, 1800, in the performance of his duty, Father Cheverus married two Catholics. The law of Massachusetts (of which the dis-

[3] Samuel I. Prime, *Life of Samuel F B. Morse.* New York, 1875.

trict of Maine was then a part) prohibited all marriages except before a justice of the peace. Father Cheverus advised the couple to have the civil ceremony performed the following day. The Attorney-General of the State, James Sullivan, was the son of Catholic parents, but had fallen away from the Church. He seemed moved to hostility against the religion of his parents, and instituted of his own accord legal proceedings against Father Cheverus, who was arrested in October, 1800, and brought to trial at Wicasset. Two of the judges, Bradbury and Strong, were rather vehement in their denunciation of the gentle priest, the former threatening him with the pillory. Cheverus was quite undismayed in the presence of this brutality; he had seen specimens of it in Paris in the days of the Jacobins, and he fought the cause to the end. The civil action was finally allowed to go by default. The Constitution of Massachusetts did not at that time contain a clause granting tolerance in religious affairs. The judges of the Supreme Court unanimously declared at Boston (March 5, 1801): "The Constitution obliges everyone to contribute to the support of Protestant ministers, and them alone. Papists are only tolerated, and as long as their ministers behave well, we shall not disturb them; but let them expect no more than that."[4]

In spite of the many obstacles, Catholicism spread in Boston and in 1803 the first Catholic Church in Massachusetts, the Church of the Holy Cross, was completed and, on September 29th of that year, Bishop Carroll, who had journeyed to Boston for the occasion, dedicated the new house of worship. In 1808, John Cheverus was consecrated as the first bishop of Boston. After his consecration at Baltimore, Dr. Cheverus returned to his episcopal city and took up the old routine of duty without changing in the slightest his simple mode of life. Before Carroll's death, there were congregations at Boston, Salem and Newburyport, in Massachusetts; Damariscotta, Portland, New Castle and Point Pleasant, in Maine; at Portsmouth in New Hampshire; at Providence and Bristol in Rhode Island and at New Haven, Hartford and New London in Connecticut. The non-Catholics at Boston considered Bishop Cheverus as "a blessing and a treasure" to their social community.

The Congregational Church, in which young Morse had been baptized was the earliest religious body in New England. Congregationalism was introduced by the Pilgrims in 1620 and was in reality

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[4] Guilday, *op. cit.*, citing, Cheverus to Carroll, March 10, 1801, *Baltimore Cathedral Archives, Case* 2-N3; Matignon to Carroll, Boston, March 16, 1801. *Ibid.*, Case 5-G4.

the dominant faith of the people of Massachusetts until 1785, when a split occurred and Unitarianism arose. Chief among the leaders of the Congregationalist party was the father of Samuel Morse, the gifted and polemic Jedadiah Morse, who was pastor of the Congregational Church in Charlestown from 1789 to 1820. Under his guidance the spirit of true Congregationalism in New England was rekindled. In Essex County, for instance, during the decade of 1791 to 1801, the churches were aroused to scrutinize more carefully the doctrinal views of their pastors; vacated pulpits were sure to be filled with men of the orthodox stamp.

In 1803, the foundations of a new state ministerial gathering were laid, the Massachusetts General Association. The new organization met with much difficulty. Two parties were formed, the Liberals and the Orthodox. The first real test of strength between the two parties took place over the choice of a successor to a decidedly old Calvinist, the Rev. Dr. Davis Tappan, whose death, in August, 1803, left vacant the Hollis Professorship of Divinity in Harvard College. A long and bitter struggle ensued and in 1805, a literary warfare opened. The Rev. Jedidiah Morse attacked the whole transaction in his *True Reasons on which the Election of the Hollis Professor of Divinity in Harvard College Was Opposed.* In June, 1805, largely through the influence of Morse, the *Panoplist* was founded, as an active defender of the older faith. However, Henry Ware, an avowed and representative Unitarian, was finally elected in 1805 to the chair.

In May, 1808, Jedidiah Morse, then the recognized champion of Congregationalism, procured the appointment of Rev. Joshua Huntington, a Yale graduate, as colleague pastor of the Old South Church, the most conservative of all Boston churches. The same year the doors of Andover Seminary were opened to students and in 1810 the Dutch Seminary was begun at New Brunswick. Such a religious influence on the character of young Morse had much to do, no doubt, with his religious prejudice in later life against any sect opposed to Congregationalism.

II

Student Days
(1806-1818)

At the age of fourteen (1805) Morse entered Yale and was graduated in 1810 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Timothy Dwight was a warm personal friend, correspondent and counselor of Dr. Morse, Samuel's father, and at his expressed desire as well as from

the promptings of his own feelings of friendship, Dr. Dwight took the deepest personal interest in the young student confided to his care. The President was a man of vast and varied learning, and of strong original powers of mind. He was a master of inductive philosophy. Few men in America at that time possessed such knowledge. It was President Dwight who prepared for publication the most atrocious of all anti-Catholic publications, *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*. Whether or not Morse imbibed any of his anti-Catholic tendencies while at Yale is hard to say.

Yale was at this time governed by very stringent religious rules and anyone convicted of spreading heresy or schism was immediately expelled. There were compulsory morning and evening prayers, and anyone absenting himself without permission was fined. On Saturday night and Sunday the "Blue Laws" were strictly enforced. However, there was no Prohibition in those days, even in college, as can be inferred from a letter written by Morse to his father asking for money to buy brandy, wine and cigars for his room. On the fourth of July, a barrel of wine was placed on a table in the refectory and no one could leave until it was empty.

While studying electricity at Yale under the instruction of Jeremiah Day, Professor of Natural Philosophy, Morse received those impressions which were destined to produce so great an influence upon him personally and upon his later researches. However, he chose art as his profession and in 1811 became the pupil of Washington Allston, American historical painter and poet, and accompanied him to England where he remained four years (1811-1815).

Washington Allston was born November, 1779, at Waccamar, South Carolina, where his father was a painter. He early displayed a taste for the art to which he was afterwards to devote himself. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1800, and for a short time persued his artistic studies at Charleston with Malbone and Charles Fraser. Shortly afterwards he removed to London and entered the Royal Academy as a student of Benjamin West, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship. After spending some time in London and Paris, Allston then went to Rome where he spent nearly four years studying Italian art and scenery. In color and management of light and shade he closely imitated the Venetian school, and hence has been styled, "The American Titian." He returned to America in 1809 and remained here till 1811. He then sailed for England, accompanied by Morse. Morse became the pupil of Benjamin West in England. The fame of this master was as wide as the world of art. Morse's success at this period was considerable, as is shown by

the gold medal he won in London for his painting, the "Dying Hercules." This medal was offered by the Society of Arts in London.

The progress of painting in America up to this time was quite meager. The earliest painter of American birth of whom we have record is Robert Feke, who painted portraits at Philadelphia about the middle of the eighteenth century. Specimens of his work are in possession of Bowdoin College, the Redwood Athenaeum, Newport, R. I., and the Rhode Island Historical Society. Next in point of time was Matthew Pratt (1734-1805). The portrait of Cadwallader Colden, which he painted for the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1772 attests his undoubted talent. The most noted painters of the last half of the eighteenth century were John Singleton, Copley and Benjamin West. Copley's "Death of the Earl of Chatham" has become famous. West produced a large number of historical and scriptural paintings of high order, his best being, "Christ Healing the Sick."

The next period, that of the Revolution, produced two painters whose names stand high in the list of American artists, Gilbert Stuart and John Trumbull. Stuart studied for several years under Benjamin West in London. When he returned to America in 1793 he painted a large number of national portraits, the most important of which is that of Washington, known as the "Athenaeum Head." Trumbull also studied under West, but his talents were most conspicuous in historical composition. Some of the best specimens of his skill, such as "The Siege of Gibraltar" and "The Declaration of Independence," may be seen at Yale College. Among the less renowned American painters who flourished from 1780 to 1820, we might mention Charles W. Peale, who painted several portraits of Washington, and Joseph Wright. Of the many landscape painters of this period, Albert Burstadt's painting, the "Rocky Mountain Scenery" is probably the best, althought mention must be made of Thomas Hill and Thomas Moran. James Hamilton, a native of Ireland, was no doubt the best marine painter of his day. William Bradford and Edward Moran also having produced effective maritime pictures. Apart from these few painters, art was neglected in this country.

In the year 1815 Morse returned to the United States and opened a studio in Boston. The fame of the young artist preceded him, and hundreds of people went to see a picture by the favorite pupil of Allston and West. He set up his easel with the confident expectation that his fame and his work would bring him orders and money. An entire year (1816) dragged itself along without an offer for his pic-

tures or even an order for a painting. Disappointed in his expectations of encouragement in his historical painting, Morse resolved to go into the country and earn money by painting the portraits of the people. During the autumn of 1816 and the following winter, he visited several towns in New Hampshire and Vermont, where he painted portraits with moderate success.

III

Morse, the Artist, Poet, Litterateur and Inventor

Samuel Morse was twenty-seven years old when, at a party given by Mr. Sparhawk in Concord, New Hampshire, in 1818, he was introduced to Miss Lucretia Walker, daughter of Charles Walker. She was accounted the most beautiful and accomplished lady of the town. Dr. Bouton in his *History of Concord,* says: "She was a young lady of great personal loveliness and rare good sense. The eye of the artist was attracted by her beauty, her sweetness of temper and her high intellectual culture, which fitted her to be his companion. Her sound judgment and prudence made her a counsellor and friend." After a short courtship, they were married on October 1, 1818, at Concord, New Hampshire, and their wedded life was blessed with two children.

At this time, there broke out at Dartmouth College a bitter religious controversy. The founder of the College, Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, was a Congregationalist minister in Lebanon, Connecticut, but when he came to Hanover, New Hampshire, he adopted the Presbyterian religion. Hence the question came up as to what should be the official faith at Dartmouth.

Slight differences of opinion between the second president and his colleagues sprang up from the very beginning of his administration. The matters in dispute were at first only local and ecclesiastical; then literary and financial, and finally they became personal and official. They agitated first the Church, then the village and faculty. They passed to the legislature and the State Court, and finally by an appeal, the controversy was decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

There was to be but one Church, Presbyterian, in connection with Dartmouth College, consisting of two branches, Congregational on the west side, and Presbyterian on the east side of the Connecticut River; each branch had an independent and exclusive right of admitting and disciplining its own members; each the privilege of employing a minister of its own choice.

About the same time the conversion of the Barber family and the subsequent devotion of all its members to the service of God, attracted great attention. Rev. Daniel Barber, a native of Sinsbury, Connecticut, served as a soldier in the State Line during the Revolution, but when peace come he revolted, as his father had done before him, against the tyranny of the Congregational Church. In his *History of My Own Times* he states that his "father and mother were Congregational dissenters of strict Puritanic rule." Seeing one of his denomination utterly discomforted in an argument with an Episcopalian, he sought refuge in the Church of the victorious disputant. There he resolved to devote himself to the ministry, and after a course of study entered upon his duties. In time a Catholic book fell into his hands and awakened some doubts in his mind as to the soundness of his own position. He called on Bishop Cheverus, about 1812, to whom he made known some of his doubts. Books lent by Dr. Cheverus were read by him and his family, and by some of his flock. Towards the close of 1818, he was in a most undecided position, when his son, Virgil Horace Barber, who had also become an Episcopal minister, called on him accompanied by Rev. Charles P. Ffrench, O. P. To his surprise, he found that his son, harassed by doubts like himself, had sought the Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, S. J., at New York in 1816, and renouncing all worldly prospects had been received by him into the Catholic Church. Virgil's wife, Jerusha, and five children followed his example. Three years later husband and wife met in the chapel of Georgetown convent to make their vows in religion. Jerusha first went through the formula of the profession of a Visitation Nun, and Virgil the vows of a member of the Society of Jesus. Before they died, they had the happiness to see all their children embrace the religious life. Mrs. Daniel Barber and her daughter, Mrs. Tyler, and her eldest daughter, Rosetta, openly professed the Catholic faith and were received into the Church. These two revolts from Congregationalism, especially the last, left a lasting impression upon Morse's mind since he know the Barbers personally.

In November, 1818, a month after his marriage to Lucretia Walker, Morse and his wife sailed from New York to South Carolina. Here he continued his portrait painting, meeting with fairly good success. This kind of work kept him busy until 1823 when he invented a machine for cutting marble. The death of his wife on February 8, 1825, was a sorrow he never fully recovered from. On November 8, 1825, a meeting of artists, probably the first ever held in the city of New York, took place in the rooms of the Historical

Society for the purpose of taking into consideration, "the formation of a Society for Improvement in Drawing." This society was afterwards known as the "New York Drawing Association." Morse was president of this society from 1826 to 1845. During the year 1826 the name of the society was again changed to the "National Academy of the Arts of Design," and as such it has since remained.

In the year 1827, Morse renewed his study of electricity, and particularly of electro-magnetism. At that time he was intimately associated with James F. Dana of Columbia College, who delivered a course of lectures on the subject, before the New York Athenaeum. Unfortunately, Professor Dana died on the 15th day of April, 1827, and Morse once more turned to the painting of portraits. During the years from 1827 to 1829, Morse resided in the city of New York pursuing with great industry his profession as a painter; but oftentimes discouraged to the very last degree by a want of success commensurate with his ambition. Poverty, so often the lot of men of genius and of the highest capacity, pressed him continually.

The first volume that appeared over his name was a memoir on the *Remains of Lucretia Maria Davidson,* New York, 1827. Morse was not only a portrait painter but also a poet. He is the author of *The Serenade,* published in the *Talisman* for 1828.

IV.

Morse and Anti-Catholic Politics (1829-1844)

An important event occurred in 1829 which was to have a tremendous effect in the United States. During the previous year, 1828, Daniel O'Connell was elected to Parliament, as the recognized leader of six million people. O'Connell presented himself in Parliament but refused to take the customary oath which was offered to him. This refusal forced a crisis. Millions of Irish Catholic were organized and defiant, and encouraged by moral and financial backing from American sympathizers, they seemed on the brink of civil war. To avoid the calamity the English Parliament passed the Act of Emancipation the following year, 1829.

Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland were at last free men. After centuries of dishonor for adhering to a proscribed religion they were now liberated from bondage. The proscription maintained against them by Act of Parliament was aggravated by the illegal persecution carried on by the "Orange Lodges" whose undisguised purpose was the extermination of "Popery." In Ireland the cruel

servitude in which the great body of Catholic peasantry was compelled to live, the almost inhuman conditions under which they had to slave to earn a living and maintain existence, their religion proscribed, their race hated, they themselves regarded as a stratum slightly above barbarians by the handful of English and Scotch Protestants who legislated for them, all these had concurred to drive them from their hearths and homes and country, and they sought America as a refuge and a haven where they might enjoy both religious and political liberty. The event of Emancipation, then, was celebrated as well in America as in Ireland. In America public Masses of Thanksgiving were sung, and the Church belfries and municipal towers bells were tolled and rung.

An Englishman, James Stuart, was visiting in America at this time. On his return to England he published a book, *Three Years in North America,* which appeared in 1833 and had two editions its first year. Stuart is the only foreign traveller, of whom we can find record, who mentioned the demonstrations with which the people of the United States greeted the news of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Stuart writes:

While I was at Philadelphia, the news arrived there of the Royal assent being given to the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Great rejoicings took place. The mayor ordered the bells, especially the great old bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States, in 1776, to be tolled and to ring during the whole day. Public rejoicings on this occasion took place in all the towns of the United States, especially at New York and Baltimore. Contributions had been sent to the subscriptions in Ireland for the forwarding of the Catholic Emancipation from the United States, especially from Maryland, a considerable part of the population of which consists of Roman Catholics.

And he writes later:

I was at Philadelphia when the news of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics in Ireland arrived and I do not believe that greater public joy was shown in London on account of that long delayed triumph of justice and liberality, than in Philadelphia.

The Irish then came here as to a land where they would be free to practice the faith for which their forefathers had suffered so much from the persecuting English, where they could work and thus give themselves and family a comfortable home. Their brothers in the Continental army and navy had done valiant service in the cause of liberty. But alas, religious prejudice in America during this period was very strong. Every anti-Catholic manifesto issued was framed

to work upon the ignorance and prejudice of the masses by advocating, first, the duty of all good Americans to preserve their country, its government and liberties against all enemies; and second, by compiling with this the calumnious statements that American independence was in imminent danger of being annihilated by the machinations of the Pope, the Jesuits, the "Romish" priesthood and the advent of foreigners who yielded blind obedience to the Pope, and that all Catholics were in a conspiracy to subvert the government. Hence it was thought to be the right and duty of American citizens to exclude all foreigners and particularly Irish Catholics from public office, to deny them practically all the rights of citizenship, and to ostracize them socially and politically so that, while they would not be prevented from coming here or remaining in the country, yet their "influence for harm" would be reduced to the lowest degree possible.

In this very year of Catholic Emancipation, 1829, Morse sailed from New York with his mind saturated with this background of popular prejudice. Morse was an American of the day, and, like his Protestant brethren, he thought the Irish Catholics in America should be kept in bondage, at least in political and social bondage. On December 4, he landed in Liverpool where there prevailed a popular sentiment the reverse of which he had left on the other side of the Atlantic in America. The Catholics in England were that year liberated from the political and religious bondage of three centuries. It does not appear that Morse caught the new spirit in England; perhaps, on the other hand, contact with the spirit of liberality aggravated the prejudice of his own heart.

Morse had left his children with relations in New York so he was free to roam Europe at will. After spending some time in England, he toured France, visiting Paris, and from there he set out for Italy. On February 20, 1830, he arrived in Rome where he spent a year and a half, until the autumn of 1831. During his stay in the Eternal City, Morse attended many solemn functions at St. Peter's and other Catholic basilicas. Very often on returning to his lodgings from these celebrations, he penned notes and impressions in his personal diary. Morse was ignorant of the significance, symbolism and purpose of Catholic ceremonies and these diary notes heap ridicule on the sacred functions of the Catholic Church. It is to be remembered, however, that Morse received the social inheritance of Puritan stock and what they hated in religious worship was the appearance of formalism and the emotional. Added to this Morse was introduced to the beautiful Roman Catholic ritual in a foreign land, among a people, the Italians, whose racial trait is to display, and not re-

strain, the emotions and workings of the heart. Considering, then, his temperament, his bias and the environment in which he witnessed the exemplification of the Catholic ceremonial, it is not surprising that, without grace, he did ridicule the holy ceremonies.

During this year and a half in Rome, Morse became acquainted with several ecclesiastics. His diary mentions that on a visit to a cardinal whose name is not given, this Prince of the Church made a vehement attack upon the faith of the young American. Morse writes that the cardinal told him that a young man so cultured and educated, and so influential in America, should be a Catholic; if he were a Catholic he would give the Church of Rome more prestige in America. A correspondence between them ensued and they met frequently thereafter to discuss the matter.

Perhaps the cardinal was imprudent in his attack on Morse's religion. But just what he did say and what was his purpose does not appear for the account is entirely one-sided, written by a prejudiced man, in his diary. Diaries at best are not a sound source for fact, for diaries are often written with preconceived purposes, in the heat of very recent events and under the stress of varied emotions. But there is no denying the effect this cardinal had on Morse. As a result of his conversations and correspondence, Morse believed firmly that there was on foot a political conspiracy of the Pope, masquerading in the cloak of a religious mission, against the Government of the United States; that the Pope was availing himself of every hidden means of getting spies into the controlling forces of the American Government and that the Pope wanted to make a Catholic of Morse himself so as to use his influence as another instrument in attaining that end.

Morse then returned to Paris where he celebrated the Fourth of July, 1832, in the American colony. There was a banquet and much rejoicing for the occasion. Lafayette attended that banquet. Morse and Lafayette were bosom friends with mutual confidences. The scenes and affairs of Rome together with the forced conclusions he drew, plagued the mind of Morse so he laid open his thoughts to the erstwhile young staff officer of the Revolutionary army. Morse later wrote that General Lafayette had concurred fully with him in the idea of the reality of a conspiracy of the Church of Rome to grasp the power from the United States. It is generally understood today that Lafayette was misquoted and there are not a few, from the days of Archbishop Spalding's controversy, who deny flatly that Lafayette ever said anything that would give grounds for the implication made by Morse.

On October 1, 1832, Morse sailed from Havre for New York on the packet-ship *Sully*. One day at dinner, during the early part of the voyage, the general conversation turned upon recent discoveries in electro-magnetism, and the experiments of Ampere with his electro-magnet. A long discussion followed on the importance, and on the commercial and practical value of such scientific studies and researches. Morse, who was more thoughtful than talkative during this discussion, arose and said:

"If the presence of electricity can be made visible in any part of the circuit I see no reason why intelligence may not be transmitted instantaneously by electricity." He withdrew from the table and went upon deck. After several sleepless nights while his mind was in labor with the subject, he announced his discovery of the telegraph dot and dash system at the breakfast table and explained the process by which he proposed to accomplish it.[5]

The education, culture, artistic sense, practical mind and inventive genius of Morse elevated him head and shoulders over the average American of the early nineteenth century. Morse sensed his own importance. When the *Sully* docked in New York, Morse was landed in the metropolis he had three years before turned his back upon. The man was hardly changed in externals, but his mind harbored one new idea, the telegraph, and his mind had developed and grown on one old idea, papal conspiracy. Most inventors are possessed with their discoveries in novel fields, not so Morse. He never became so absorbed in his inventions as to forget the freedom given Catholics in England and Ireland and the false impressions he received in Rome and Paris regarding the intrigues of the Pope to get control of the American commonweal. This conviction was so strong that he adopted the fad, developed to an intense degree in his absence, of maligning the Catholic Church through the medium of the press. He gave much time in subsequent years to publishing in periodicals, pamphlets and separate volumes, the facts, indeed falsified, and arguments, which in his judgment were fundamental to an understanding of the papal menace.

Morse was not the inceptor of this mass of vilifying journalism; he simply threw his forces into a movement which was initiated in 1830, while he was in Europe. But Morse is the most important of these writers, he towers above his brethren, his faculties sharpened by education were whetted by prejudice, his accusations are the most villainous, his pen the most vehement; and this yellow journalism

[5] Prime, *op. cit.*

was the more venemous because there was subscribed to it the signature, "Samuel F. B. Morse," whose authority was weighty in the popular mind.

The anti-Catholic writings of this particular period, then, began in 1830, when with a view to extend the anti-Catholic movement throughout the country certain ministers in New York attached to the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches associated themselves in establishing and conducting a newspaper which was called *The Protestant.* It had as its patrons some seventy-two ministers, under the direction of Parson Brownlee, who from their pulpits advertised the paper and promoted its circulation. Its attacks on Roman Catholics were so bitter that *The Jesuit,* the earliest Catholic paper of Boston, described it as "a paper so notoriously infamous as to reflect disgrace upon the very name it has assumed,—a paper from whose profligacy of expression, Satanic baseness, anti-social, anti-christian spirit, the sensible, respectable, and virtuous Protestants of New York and union at large shrink with honest Christian indignation."[6] The Protestant pulpits were filled with preachers whose sermons waxed eloquent with the bitterest possible attacks on the Church, and especially against the Irish immigrant. Public meetings were held in New York, Philadelphia and Boston where "Popery" was exposed.

In addition to the work Protestant religious newspapers were doing in fomenting anti-Catholic prejudice, the printing press was utilized to turn out a variety of books whose titles, to say nothing of their contents, were such as to attract the attention of unthinking or evil-minded persons to the iniquities which were charged against bishops, clergy and religious women of the Catholic Church. The printing-press has always been one of the deadliest agencies employed in the warfare against the Church, and this is especially true during this period. Among the books published were: *Six Months in a Convent,* by Rebecca Theresa Reid, *alias* Sister Agnes; *Plea for the West,* by Lyman Beecher; *The Downfall of Babylon,* by Samuel Smith; *Rosamond Culbertson,* by Frances Partridge, a pretended runaway nun; *Louise, a Canadian Nun; Open Convents; Secrets of Nuneries Disclosed; Thrilling Mysteries of a Convent Revealed;* and the most shameless of all impostures, the *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk.* About 1830 appeared *An Exposition of the Principles of the Roman Catholic Religion with remarks on its influence in the United States.*

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[6] Guilday, *Anti-Catholic Movements in the United States,* Private publication, 1916.

The author, who concealed his identity under the signature *Philalethas,* assured his readers that the rapid spread of the Roman Catholic religion was the chief danger which threatened the Republic. As a result of these writings, anti-Catholic mobs were organized all along the Atlantic seaboard. Churches were burned in New York; a seminary in Nyack, New York, was reduced to ashes; Irishmen lost their posts for voting for Jackson; Catholics were compelled to work on Sundays and Holydays so that they could not attend Church or receive the Sacraments; means were also devised to compel the Irish Catholics to attend the Evangelical Church. The noxious bud bloomed forth into its flower in Massachusetts. In 1834 came the burning of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, within sight of Bunker Hill monument, by an anti-Catholic mob, who drove out the nuns and their pupils, with the eventual loss of two lives; and the only prisoner convicted for a share in the outrage was pardoned by the governor. During the night after the burning of the convent a mob of half-grown lads and men paraded the streets of Boston, menaced the Catholic Church on Franklin Street, marched to the convent, burned the fence, tore up the grapery and destroyed the orchard and the garden. That the Catholics, after so much provocation, should remain quiet seemed hardly possible. Indeed, rumors were afloat of vengeance threatened, and an army of Irish laborers from the Worcester, Lowell, and Providence railroads were on the march to Boston to avenge the insult to the Catholic Church. Some actually started, but Bishop Fenwick sent priests in every direction to turn them back, summoned his people to meet him in the Franklin Street Church, told them that an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth formed no part of the religion of Jesus Christ, and bade them raise not a finger in their own defense as there were those around who would see full justice done.[7]

The Philadelphia Native-Americans, who were meeting with grand success in their own city, planned to send a delegation to New York and a public meeting was called to assemble in the City Hall Park there to welcome the visitors and to celebrate the triumph of Native-American principles. Bishop Hughes at once caused a notice to be published warning the Irish to keep away from this meeting, and he called on the Mayor and warned him against the danger of allowing the proposed demonstration to take place.

"Are you afraid," asked the Mayor, "that some of your churches will be burned?"

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[7] Peter Condon in the *Historical Records and Studies,* Vol. IV. New York, 1906.

"No sir," answered the Bishop, "but I am afraid that some of yours will be burned. We can protect our own. I come to warn you for your own good."

The Native-Americans took alarm, and posters were issued containing a notification that the meeting to welcome the Philadelphia delegation would not take place. The visitors arrived, but there was no public reception and no demonstration. The Natives kept discreetly quiet and there was no disturbance.[6]

In the South the few cities were no better governed than those of the North, and there was a greater indifference to human sufferings, and to the brutal treatment of prisoners and other defenceless people. Alongside the strength, vigor, and hopefulness of the frontier was the uncouthness, the ignorance, the prejudice, and the latent barbarism of the man who spent his life in conquering nature and the savage.

From 1834 to 1840, no city of the Unitd States was without its Society of Protestants willing to exterminate the Church by force if necessary. In the year 1834, Mr. Morse published a series of papers, which the year following were issued in a volume entitled: *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States revised and corrected, with Notes by the Author.* The papers as they first appeared, were copied widely, and, pervading the whole country, made a deep and permanent impression. The volume passed through numerous editions, and has proved to be one of the most efficient works that has appeared in that prolific discussion.

Probably in no other place is the anti-Catholic feeling more vividly described than in the book written by S. F. B. Morse entitled: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws,* New York, 1835.

In 1835, Morse was appointed Professor of the Literature of the Arts of Design in the New York City University. It was here that he immediately commenced, with very limited means to experiment upon his invention. On September 2, 1837, he exhibited for the first time his instrument to a few friends in New York City. Encouraged by his friends, Morse then petitioned for a patent and for an appropriation of $30,000 to defray the expenses of setting up telegraph wires between Baltimore and Washington. The committee on commerce to whom the petition was referred after seeing his

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[6] Guilday, *Anti-Catholic Movements.*

instrument in operation, reported favorably but Congress adjourned without making any appropriation.

This very year, 1837, Professor Morse edited and published, with an introduction by himself: *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest,* to which are added, *Warnings to the People of the United States,* by the same author. This volume bore upon the title-page the line, "American liberty can be destroyed only by the popish clergy—Lafayette." The declaration was not placed upon the title-page by the editor but by the author of the book.

The newspapers continued to carry on an anti-Irish campaign for political purposes, the intensity of which we can hardly realize in these days. The religion of Catholics was constantly misrepresented, and her ministers vilified. The poverty of many of the immigrants equalled by their attachment to the faith, was made the subject of ridicule by Protestant religious papers and by many of the secular newspapers, so that religious controversy, or rather the denunciation of the religion of Roman Catholics, became the order of the day. The proposition which was constantly argued in the pulpit as well as in the press, was that Roman Catholics could not consistently with their allegiance to the Pope become or remain loyal citizens of the Republic, and consequently that "foreigners", meaning thereby Roman Catholics, ought not to be entrusted with any office of honor or profit in the State.

In Boston, one Sunday in June 1836, as a company of firemen were returning from a fire, they met a number of Irishmen waiting to form a funeral procession. A fight followed, but was soon quelled, and the engine company went on to its house. Meantime, an alarm of fire was given, and as another company was on its way in search of the supposed fire it came suddenly on the funeral procession, broke through its ranks and threw it into confusion. A rush was made by the Irishmen for a neighboring woodpile, and, thus armed, they fell upon the firemen. Two other companies now arrived, and a general fight ensued. The spectators took sides as natives or Irishmen, and the latter were driven down Broad Street to Purchase. There the mob, which had followed in the rear of the firemen, attacked the houses of the Irish, sacked them, threw the contents into the street and demolished everything. The furniture, beds, bedding, trunks, and the contents of a couple of groceries were strewn about the streets, and several Irishmen who were found hiding in cellars were dragged out and beaten. The air, it was said, was filled with feathers, and some thirty houses were sacked. After three hours of rioting the militia appeared and made some arrests. Beyond the fact that

the men of one party were Irish and those of the other natives, no cause whatever could be found for the riot.[9] At the next session of Congress the Native American Association at Washington presented a memorial, signed by nearly nine hundred members, praying that the naturalization act be amended. Such was the treatment meted out to the Catholics and especially the Irish Catholics during the period 1830-1840.

On May 16, 1838, Morse again sailed to England for the purpose of obtaining letters-patent for the Electro-Magnetic Telegraph System. He was refused the patent and told that his "invention had been published," and in proof a copy of the *London Mechanics Magazine,* No. 737, for February 10, 1837, was produced, and he was told, "that in consequence of said publication he could not proceed." Morse then went on to Paris and succeeded in obtaining a patent there. He then returned to London and exhibited the telegraph at the home of Lord Lincoln, afterwards the Duke of Newcastle. Morse returned to the United States the following year and from then till 1843 Morse's one ambition was the perfection of his telegraph. His efforts were crowned with success when, in 1843, Congress passed a bill appropriating $30,000 for a telegraph line between Baltimore and Washington. On the 24th day of May, 1844, Professor Morse was prepared to put to the test the great experiment of which his mind had been laboring for twelve anxious, weary years. He invited his friends to assemble in the chamber of the United States Supreme Court, where he had his instrumentt, from which the wires extended to Baltimore. The calmest person in the company was Professor Morse. Taking his seat by the instrument, he proceeded to manipulate it. Slowly, steadily, and successfully he wrote the selected words, in the Morse telegraphic alphabet, as follows: *What hath God wrought?* It was instantaneously received by Mr. Vail in Baltimore, who was ignorant of the message to be sent. Two days afterwards, May 26th, the National Democratic Convention for the nomination of candidates assembled in Baltimore. It was during this convention that Morse's telegraph was first publicly used and proved successful. From this time the extension of the telegraph proceeded step by step, and sometimes with rapid strides, over the United States of America. Professor Morse had the proud satisfaction of seeing his invention acknowledged before the world as an American invention.

During these years of the successful completion of Morse's tele-

[9] John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States,* Vol. V., New York, 1906.

graphic plans, 1840-1850, there occurred demonstrations of bigotry and prejudice which make this period probably the most unhappy in our religious history. The labors and distractions involved in the building of the first telegraph did not occupy his mind, as they would the mind of an ordinary man, as to make him forget the ghost of his life — the papal menace. Catholic prejudice was his life's obsession and, in 1841, there came from his prolific pen a series of diatribes, first appearing in the *Journal of Commerce* and later published in a separate volume under the title: *Our Liberties defended; the Question discussed: is the Protestant or Papal System most favorable to Civil and Religious Liberty?* Added to the authority of the name Morse, the author now appended his new distinction, Professor. These particular anti-Catholic essays were but a small part of his writings at this time for from the moment his telegraph became a fact his time and talents were required to defend his proprietorship of the invention.

V.

"Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws"

In January, 1815, a convention was held at Hartford, Connecticut. The delegates were from the various parts of New England, convening for the purpose of recommending certain amendments to the Federal Constitution. One of these amendments was to exclude all naturalized citizens from all civil offices and from being elected to Congress. This was in an anti-Irish spirit. James Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth,* sums up the position of the Irish at that time when he says: "There is a disposition in the United States to use the immigrants, and especially the Irish, much as the cat is used in the kitchen to account for broken plates and food which disappears. New York was not an Eden before the Irish came; and would not become an Eden were they all to move on to San Francisco."

This anti-Irish movement spread throughout the eastern States and eventually blossomed into the Native American Party. Anti-Catholic literature during the decade 1830-1840 became very bitter. Books and pamphlets appeared as fast as the printers could turn them out. The daily newspapers carried the most bitter anti-Catholic articles. Everyone seemed to be imbued with the spirit and the cry became, "Down with Popery."

In 1835, there appeared a series of numbers in the *New York Journal of Commerce* written *By An American,* entitled: *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws.* These were soon printed in pamphlet form because up to that date it was the most violent anti-Catholic literature that had been written. The author who signed himself *An American* was none other than the inventor of the telegraph, Samuel Finley Breese Morse. In his preface he states very clearly that "Foreign Immigration" is the cause of the degrading American character brought on "by numerous instances of riot and lawless violence in action, and a dangerous spirit of licentiousness in discussion." He also says, "There are other causes of a deeply serious nature, giving support, and strength, and systematic co-operation to all these adverse effects of foreign immigration, and to which it is high time every American should seriously turn his thoughts." Hence it was a national question of great importance and one distinctly separated from party politics. The aim was to unite all Americans of every party into one true American party in order to uphold the "principles which are distinctive of American institutions, principles opposed most thoroughly to absolute or priestly power."

After tracing very briefly the difference of conditions of the alien in France, where "a residence of ten years gives to the alien all the rights of a citizen" and America, where a residence of five years is all that is required to give the foreigner "a direct influence on its political affairs," Morse goes on to show that the principles of our democratic liberty are in great jeopardy due to Europe's despotism. Popery is in favor of monarchial power. The Pope is sending his representatives over here to instill into the hearts and souls of our American people a hatred for Republican liberty. All the countries of Europe have taken up the ideas of the Pope, especially Austria. One of the Austrian Cabinet, Frederick Schlegel, in a lecture given to strengthen the cause of absolute power, demonstrated one of the principal connecting points between European and American politics," when he said: "The great Nursery of these destructive principles (the principles of Democracy), the Great Revolutionary school for France and the rest of Europe, is North America." Austria could not attack us except through Popery, because to send her armies would be useless. Hence Austria has set out to spread throughout the country the Popish religion. The passage in question follows:

Immediately after the delivery of Schlegel's (a devoted Roman Catholic, and one of the Austrian Cabinet) lectures, which was in

the year 1828, a great society was formed in the Austrian capital, in Vienna, in 1829. The late Emperor (Charles X), and Prince Metternich, and the Crown Prince (now emperor), and all the civil and ecclesiastical officers of the empire, with the princes of Savoy and Piedmont, Hungary, Italy and Catholic France, uniting in it, and calling it after the name of a canonized King, St. Leopold. This society is formed for a great and express purpose. It has all the officers of government interested in it, from the Emperor down to the humblest in the Empire. It is not a small private association, but a great and extensive combination. And what is its purpose? Why, that "of promoting the greater activity of Catholic missions in America;" these are the words of their own reports. Let us examine the operation of this Austrian society for it is hard at work all around us. From a machinery of such a character and power, we shall doubtless be able to see already some effect. With its headquarters at Vienna, under the immediate direction and inspection of Metternich, the well known great managing general of the diplomacy of Europe, it makes itself already felt through the Republic. Its emissaries are here. And who are the emissaries? They are Jesuits. This society of men, after exerting their tyranny for upwards of 200 years, at length became so formidable to the world, threatening the entire subversion of all social order, that even the Pope, whose devoted subjects they are, and must be, by vow of their society, was compelled to dissolve them. They had not been suppressed, however, for fifty years, before the waning influence of Popery and Despotism required their useful labours, to resist the spreading light of Democratic liberty, and the Pope (Pius VII), simultaneously with the formation of the Holy Alliance, revived the order of the Jesuits in all their power. From their vow of "unqualified submission to the Sovereign Pontiff" they have been appropriately called the Pope's body guard. It should be known that Austrian influence elected the present Pope; his body guard are therefore at the service of Austria and these are the soldiers that the Leopold Society has sent to this country, and they are agents of this society, to execute its designs, whatever their designs may be. And do Americans need to be told what Jesuits are? If any are ignorant, let them inform themselves of their history without delay; no time is to be lost; their workings are before you in every day's events; they are a secret society, a sort of Masonic order, with superadded features of most revolting odiousness, and a thousand times more dangerous. They are not confined to one class in society; they are not merely priests, or priests of one religious creed, they are merchants, and lawyers, and editors, and men of any profession, and no profession, having no outward badge (in this country) by which to be recognized; they are about in all your society. They can assume any character, that of angels of light, or ministers of darkness to accomplish their one great end, the service upon which they are sent, whatever that service may be. "They are all educated men, prepared, and sworn to start at any moment in any direction, and for any service commanded by the general of their order, bound to no family, community or country,

by the ordinary ties which bind men; and sold for life to the cause of the Roman Pontiff." . . . Is there no danger to the Democracy of the country from such formidable foes arrayed against it? Is Metternich its friend? Is the Pope its friend? Are his official documents now daily put forth democratic in their character?

O, there is no danger to the Democracy, for those most devoted to the Pope, the Roman Catholics, especially the Irish Catholics, are all on the side of Democracy. Yes, to be sure they are all on the side of Democracy. They are just where I should look for them. Judas Iscariot joined with the true disciples. Jesuits are not fools. . . . This is a Democratic country, and the Democratic party is and ever must be the strongest party, unless ruined by traitors and Jesuits in the camp? . . . Let every real Democrat guard against this common Jesuitical artifice of tyrants, an artifice which there is much evidence to believe is practising against them at this moment, an artifice which, if not heeded, will surely be the ruin of democracy; it is founded on that well-known principle that "extremes meet." . . .

That Jesuits are at work upon the passions of American community, managing in various ways to gain control, must be evident to all. . . . There are some, perhaps, who are under the impression that the order of Jesuits is a purely religious Society for the dissemination of the Roman Catholic religion, and, therefore, comes within the protection of our laws, and must be tolerated. There cannot be a greater mistake. It was from the beginning a political organization, an absolute Monarchy masked by religion. It has been aptly styled "tyranny by religion." . . .

It is this (Roman Catholic) form of religion that is most implicated in the conspiracy against our liberties. It is in this sect that the Jesuits are organized. It is this sect that is proclaimed by one of its own most brilliant and profound literary men to be hostile in its very nature to republican liberty; and it is the active extension of this sect that Austria is endeavoring to promote throughout the Republic. . . .

It is in the Roman Catholic ranks that we are principally to look for material to be employed by the Jesuits, and in what condition do we find this sect at present in our country? We find it spreading itself into every nook and corner of the land; churches, chapels, colleges, nunneries and convents, are springing up as if by magic everywhere; and activity hitherto unknown among the Roman Catholics pervades all their ranks, and yet whence the means for all these efforts? Except here and there funds or favours collected from an inconsistent Protestant (so called probably because born in a Protestant country, who is flattered or wheedled by some Jesuit artifice to give his aid to their cause), the greatest part of the pecuniary means for all these works are from abroad. They are contributions of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, of Prince Metternich, of the late Charles X, and the other despots combined in the Leopold Society. And who are the members of the Roman Catholic communion? What proportion are natives of this land, nurtured under our own institu-

tions, and well versed in the nature of American liberty? Is it not notorious that the greater part are foreigners from the various Catholic countries of Europe? Emigration has of late years been specially promoted among this class of foreigners and they have been in the proportion of three to one of all other emigrants arriving on our shores; they are from Ireland, Germany, Poland, and Belgium. From about the period of the formation of the Leopold Society, Catholic emigration increased in an amazing degree. . . . The principal emigrants are from Ireland and Germany. We have lately been told by the captain of a lately arrived Austrian vessel which, by the by, brought seventy emigrants from Antwerp, that a desire is suddenly manifested among the poorer class of the Belgian population, to emigrate to America. They are mostly, if not all, Roman Catholics, be it remarked, for Belgium is a Catholic country and Austrian vessels are bringing them here. Whatever the cause of all this movement abroad to send to this country, their poorer classes, the fact is certain, the class of emigrants is known, and instrument, Austria, is seen in it—the same power that directs the Leopold Foundation.

Hence we should have a change in our naturalization laws. Just what this change should have been was a serious question. The editor of the *Evening Post* suggested that foreigners be admitted "to citizenship the moment they set foot in the country, provided they make suitable declaration of their intention of residence." Others wanted a change with the view of discouraging immigration completely or a change in the right of suffrage. Others held that the immigrant has a merit superior to the Americans because he has made this the country of his choice. "The claim of the foreigner to equal right with native citizens, on the ground of the declared principles of the government, and of abstract natural rights" is groundless. The Jesuits, the Pope's emissaries, are to be watched carefully. The nature of the Roman Catholic system ought to be examined. The system that Austria and the other despots of Europe are promoting in these United States is "Popery."

"What is the character of Popery?" You must not ask that question,' says one. 'You have no right to ask it' . . . . 'No Church and State,' cries a third. . . . 'It is persecution, and intolerance, and illiberality, and bigotry,' cries a sixth, 'for the Roman Catholic religion is changed; it is not that bloody persecuting religion that it was in by-gone times, when John Huss and others were burnt as heretics. Roman Catholics have grown tolerant and liberal; they are now favorable to liberty; they advocate all the rights of man, such as, right of private judgment; the liberty of the press. They have imbibed the spirit of the age.' Yet, who says it is changed? Will any Roman Catholic Bishop say it has changed any of its principles one iota? And is there any Roman Catholic ecclesiastic who,

authorized by his superior, will dare to deny, under his own proper name,

1st. That the Roman Catholic priesthood are taught at this day (A. D. 1835), to account Protestants worse than Pagans.

2nd. That they are taught to consider all who are baptized, even by those they term heretics, as lawfully under the power of the Church of Rome, over whom the Pope has rightful domination.

3rd. That they are taught, that they cannot tolerate the rites of any who are not of the Church of Rome, and that whenever it is for the good of the Church, they must exterminate them.

4th. That they are taught, that they may compel, by corporal punishments, all who are baptized; and consequently nearly all, if not all, of every Protestant religious denomination, to submit to the Roman Church.

5th. That they are taught that these punishments may be confiscation of property, exile, imprisonment, and death.

6th. That they are taught, that expediency alone may restrain them from the exercise of any of these rights of compulsion against heretics; and that consequently, whenever they have the power, and it shall be thought expedient, it is their duty to exercise them. Are these startling propositions? Consider them well, Americans. They are the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

It is little wonder that the *Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of Naturalization Laws,* became a political pamphlet of supreme importance in the eyes of the Native American Political Party. By party is meant any section of men who nominate candidates of their own for the presidency and vice-presidency of the United States. In the United States, the history of party politics begins with the Constitutional Convention of 1787 at Philadelphia. On the drafting of the Constitution, during its debates and discussions, two opposite tendencies, which soon afterwards appeared on a larger scale in the State conventions, to which the new instrument was submitted for acceptance, were revealed. There were the centrifugal and centripetal tendencies—a tendency to maintain both the freedom of the individual citizen and the independence in everything except foreign policy and national defense, of the several States. When George Washington was chosen as the first President of the United States and with him a Senate and House of Representatives, the tendencies which had opposed or supported the adoption of the Constitution reappeared not only in Congress but also in the President's cabinet. Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, counselled a line of action which assumed and required the exercise of large powers by the Federal government, while Thomas Jefferson,

the secretary of state, desired practically to restrict its action to foreign affairs. Hence two parties were formed. The Federalists, the first party government under the Constitution, were under the leadership of Hamilton. It was this party that had passed, on June 18, 1789, the new law requiring that fourteen years of residence, and a declaration of intention five years prior to application, were necessary for naturalization. The old Federalist party fell in 1800 and disappeared in 1814. The party under Jefferson took the name of Democratic-Republicans. The Federalists claimed to be the apostles of liberty, while the Republicans represented the principle of order. The disappearance of the Federal party in 1814 left the Republicans master of the field until about 1830 when sectional divisions arose thereby forming two new parties, the Democrats and the National-Republicans, ultimately the Whig Party. The Democrats carried on the dogmas and traditions of the old Jeffersonian Republicans while the Whigs represented many of the views of the former Federalists. In 1831 and 1832 two minor parties arose. They were called the anti-Masonic party and the Liberal party. These parties revealed the fact that a popular vote when backed by party organizations might force issues to a hearing and might threaten the governing parties into compliance. The anti-Masonic party had its stronghold in New York State.

Samuel S. Smith, a renegade priest, who published in New York a filthy sheet styled *The Downfall of Babylon* and neglected no opportunity to assail the Catholic Church, announced that the formal organization of the Native-American Party took place at a meeting held at the North American Hotel, New York City, June 10, 1835. The organization adopted the name, "Native American Democratic Association," and resolutions were passed lamenting the coming of so many foreigners into the country, saying that it was not compatible with their honor as native citizens to aid in the election of any foreigner to any office of trust, or power, and that native citizens ought always be preferred for every civil or municipal office. *The Downfall* hailed the association as a "religious scheme for the salvation of our country." In a short time, an organization was so far effected as to warrant the nomination of a distinct American ticket for local office. The second purpose of the Native-American Party was to extend the time required for citizenship from five to twenty-one years. It will be found that the outbursts of Nativism are always concomitants to an immigrant wave. Know-Nothingism, for example, which was the first pronounced manifestation of Nativism, was at its height in 1855, the year after the

first great immigrant wave reached its peak. Sporadic Nativist societies had begun to appear prior to Know-Nothingism, such as the Patriotic Sons of America, 1847, and the Native-American Party, 1835. The peak year of the second wave was 1873, the effect of which was seen in the planks introduced into Republican and Democratic platforms in 1876 in support of Nativism, the Republican plank again going so far as to recommend a constitutional amendment preventing the use of public funds or property in support of sectarian schools. The third peak of immigration was reached in 1882 with a slightly lesser peak in 1892. During this period Nativism asserted itself in the American Protective Association organized in 1887. The peak of the fourth and last immigrant wave was 1907 with a slightly lesser peak in 1914. The Ku Klux Klan was organized in 1915. The Klan has become a national movement mainly because it has tapped the old stream of Nativist traditions.

The growing antagonism to the Irish immigrant during the decade, 1830-1840, and the formation of the so-called "Native American Association" were due in part to the aggressive self-consciousness and political activities of the large masses of Irish immigrants in the Eastern cities. Foreign nationalistic societies of all kinds were a great irritant. Even so harmless an organization as the Boston Hibernian Lyceum aroused the wrath of the unreasonable "Nativists."

VI.

Later Life and Death (1845-1872)

Professor S. F. B. Morse, the soul of the anti-Catholic movement during this period, was chosen in 1835 as the Native-American candidate for the office of Mayor of New York, but in spite of the large vote he polled he was defeated. Morse gives a "Native American View" of the situation in his pamphlet: *Imminent Dangers.* Morse says:

Few, out of the great cities, are aware what sophistry has of late been spread among the more ignorant class of foreigners, to induce them to clan together, and to assert what they are pleased to call their rights. The ridiculous claim to superior privileges over native citizens, which I have noticed, is a specimen. . . . Already has the influence of bad councils led the deluded emigrant, particularly the Irish emigrant, to adopt such a course as to alienate from him the American people. Emigrants have been induced to prefer such arrogant claims, they have nurtured their foreign feelings and their for-

eign nationality to such a degree, and manifested such a determination to create and strengthen, a separate and a foreign interest, that the American people can endure it no longer, and a direct hostile interest is now in array against them. This is an effect natural from such a cause; it is one long predicted in the hope of avoiding the evil. If evil is the consequence, the writer at least washed his hands of the guilt. The name and character of foreigners has, by this conduct of emigrants and their advocates, become odious, and the public voice is becoming louder and louder, and it will increase to unanimity, or at least so far as real American feeling pervades the hearts of America, until its languages will be intelligible and audible even to those deaf ears, who no affect neither to hear nor to heed it. . . . It is that anamalous, nondescript . . . thing, neither foreign nor native, yet a moiety of each, now one, now the other, both or neither as circumstances suit, against whom I war; a naturalized foreigner, not a naturalized citizen; a man from Ireland, or France, or Germany or other foreign lands, renounces his native country and adopts America, professes to become an American and still, being received, sworn to be a citizen, talks (for example) of Ireland as "his home," as "his beloved country," resents anything said against the Irish as said against him, glories in being Irish, forms and cherishes an Irish interest, brings hither Irish local feuds, and forgets, in short, all his new obligations as an American, and retains both a name and a feeling and a practice in regard to his adopted country at war with propriety, with decency, with gratitude, and with true patriotism. I hold no parley with such contradictions as Irish fellow-citizens, French fellow-citizens, or German fellow-citizens. With as much consistency might we say foreign natives, or foreign friends. But the present is no time either for compliment or nice discrimination. When the country is invaded by an army, it is not the moment to indulge in pity towards the deluded soldiers of the various hostile corps, who act as they are commanded by their superior officers. It is then no time to make distinction among the officers, lest we injure those who are voluntarily fighting against us, or who may be friends in the enemy's camp. The first thing is to bring the whole army to unconditional surrender, and when they have laid down their arms in a body, and acknowledged our sovereignity, then good fellowship, and courtesy, and pity will have leisure to indulge in discriminating friends and foes, and in showing to each their respective and appropriate sympathies.

We have now to resist the momentous evil that threatens us from foreign conspiracy. The conspirators are in the foreign importations. Innocent and guilty are brought over together. We must of necessity suspect them all. That we are most seriously endangered, admits not of the slightest doubt; we are experiencing the natural reaction of European upon American principles, and it is infatuation, it is madness not to see it, not to guard against it. A subtle attack is making upon us by foreign powers. The proofs are as strong as the nature of the case allows. They have been adduced again and again and they have not only been uncontradicted, but

silently acquiesced in, and have acquired fresh confirmation by every day's observation. The arbitrary governments of Europe—those governments who keep the people in the most abject obedience at the point of the bayonet, with Austria at their head, have combined to attack us in every vulnerable point that the nation exposes to their assault. They are compelled by self-preservation to attempt our destruction—they must destroy democracy. It is with them a case of life and death, they must succeed or perish. If they do not overthrow American liberty, American liberty will overthrow their despotism. . . . Will you despise the cry of danger? Well, be it so. Believe the foreign Jesuit rather than our own countrymen. Open wide your doors. Yes, throw down your walls. Invite, nay, allure, your enemies. Enlarge your almshouses and your prisons; be not sparing of your money; complain not of the outrages in your streets, nor the burden of your taxes. You will be repaid in praises of your toleration and liberty. What though European despots have compelled you to the necessity of employing your lives in toiling and providing for their outcast poor, and have caused you to be vexed, and your habit outraged by the expatriated turbulence of their cities, instead of allowing you to rejoice in the prosperity, and happiness, and peaceful neighborhood of your own well-provided, well-instructed children. . . .

What were the circumstances of the country when laws so favorable to the foreigner were passed to induce him to emigrate and settle in this country? The answer is obvious. Our early history explains it. In our national infancy we needed the strength of numbers. Powerful nations, to whom we were accessible by fleets, and consequently also by armies, threatened us. Our land had been the theatre of contests between French, and English, and Spanish armies, for more than a century. Our numbers were so few and so scattered, that as a people we could not unite to repel aggression. The war of Independence, too, has wasted us. We wanted numerical strength; we felt our weakness in numbers. Safety, then, national safety, was the motive which urged us to use every effort to increase our population and to induce a foreign emigration. Then foreigners seemed all important, and the policy of alluring them hither, too palpable to be opposed successfully even by the remonstrances of Jefferson. We would be benefited by the emigrants and we in return could bestow on them a gift beyond price, by simply making them citizens. Manifest as this advantage seemed in the increase of our numerical strength, Mr. Jefferson looked beyond the advantage of the moment, and saw the distant evil. . . . Now, if under the most favorable circumstances for the country, when it could most be benefited, when numbers were most urgently needed, Mr. Jefferson could discover the evil afar off, and protest against encouraging foreign immigration, how much more is the measure to be deprecated, when circumstances have so entirely changed, that instead of adding strength to the country, immigration adds weakness, weakness physical and moral. And what overwhelming force does Mr. Jefferson's reasoning acquire, by the vast change of circumstances which has taken place both in

Europe and in this country, in our earlier and in our later conditions? Then we were few, feeble and scattered. Now w eare numerous, strong, and concentrated. Then our accessions by immigrations were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and good, from the enlightened mechanic and artisan, and intelligent husbandman. Now immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and the vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe. And again: Then our beautiful system of government had not been unfolded to the world to the terror of tyranny; the rising brightness of American Democracy was not yet so far above the horizon as to wake their slumbering anxieties, or more than to gleam faintly, in hope, upon their enslaved subjects. Then immigration was natural, it was an attraction of affinities, it was an attraction of liberty. Immigrants were proscribed for conscience's sake, and for opinions' sake, the real lovers of liberty, Europe's loss, and our gain. . . . Now emigrants are selected for a service to their tyrants, and by their tyrants, not for their affinity to liberty, but for their mental servitude, and their docility in obeying the orders of their priests. They are transported in thousands, nay, in hundreds of thousands, to our shores, to our loss and Europe's gain. Again I say . . . let the law of the land be so changed that no foreigner who comes into the country after the law is passed shall ever be entitled to the right of suffrage. This is just ground; it is practicable ground; it is defensible ground, and it is safe and prudent ground; and I cannot better close than in words of Mr. Jefferson, "The time to guard against corruption and tyranny is before they shall have gotten hold on us; it is better to keep the wolf out of the fold, than to trust to drawing his teeth and talons after he has entered . . . ."

. . . . What reason can be assigned, why they who profess to have become Americans, should organize themselves into Foreign National Societies all over the country; and under their foreign appellation, hold correspondence with each other to promote their foreign interest? Can any good reason be given why such foreign associations should be allowed to exist in this country? The Irish have been thus organized for many years. The objects of one of three Irish societies will serve to illustrate the objects generally of all these associations in the midst of us. "The Boston Hibernian Lyceum," says the Catholic Diary of March 14, 1835, "organized about two years ago, is composed of Irish young men for the diffusion among each other"—of what? "of mutual sympathy and mutual co-operation, in whatever may aid to qualify them to meet and discharge their responsibilities as the representatives of their native as well as citizens of their adopted country, as Irishmen and Americans." Here we have an avowal directly of an organization to promote a foreign interest in the country. . . .

It is notorious that the excitement respecting the Roman Catholic emigrant had existed scarcely a year. The exposure of foreign designs through the Roman Catholic religion, and the discussions arising out of it, all the riotous conduct of Catholics and others, and

among other things the public notices of these very organizations, have all occurred within the last year. But the organizations of the Catholics, and particularly of the Irish, are of many years standing. The Society at Boston, above quoted, and one of the most recent, was formed long before any excitement on the subject "two years ago," says the Catholic Diary. It was discovering these organizations, already formed on the part of foreigners, that excited the jealousy and distrust on the part of the American people.

The first National Convention of the Native-Americans assembled at Philadelphia, on the 4th day of July, 1845, for the purpose of devising a plan of concerted political action in defense of American institutions against the encroachments of foreign influence open or concealed. This is sufficient to make clear that the antagonism to foreigners was linked with opposition to the Catholic faith; and in this respect the story is the same down to the present moment. Hatred for Irish ascendancy in this country has gone hand-in-hand with hatred for the Church. The main idea has been to keep the Irish out of the professions, out of civil offices of trust, and thus to impoverish them financially and intellectually. The point of attack was not primarily in their being Catholic, but in their being Irish. The persistence and development of this illiberal and un-American spirit found our people ill-prepared to defend themselves against the attacks made upon them, emanating for the most part from the ministers and disseminated by sectarian newspapers all over the land. The Catholic clergy of those days were men of peace who had been trained to suffer persecution for conscience' sake and who would have preferred to escape from the strife and public disputation over matters of religion which the exigencies of the times forced upon them.

Professor Morse was a Christian in his faith and practice. He first made a public profession of religion in Charlestown, Mass., in the Church (Congregational) of which his father was pastor. He was the superintendent of its Sabbath-school.

Those who knew him most intimately, and held communion with him in hours of retirement from the conflicts of the world, know that he was governed in all his actions by the fear of God and love of his fellow-men. Few men have given more in proportion to their wealth than he did. The first earnings of the telegraph he gave to the Church. Colleges and theological seminaries received liberal donations from him. Missionary and other religious charities were constant recipients of his benefactions. Art and science were always

regarded by him as proper objects for the use of his money.[10] And yet, his attitude towards the Irish Catholics in this country was far from being charitable.

From 1840 on, emigration from Europe had steadily increased. As Morse describes it,

It is estimated from official statistics that about 1,160,000 people had arrived in the United States from 1840-1850, mostly from Ireland on account of the Famine. With the steady growth of Catholicity new churches were erected, new dioceses begun and bishops appointed; and these evidences of Catholic progress filled the souls of the Protestant American citizens with alarm. The spirit led to the formation of the Know-Nothing or American Party, pledged to the same principles as the Native American Party which had preceded it —anti-Catholicism and anti-Foreign Know-Nothingism was the first pronounced manifestation of Nativism, and reached its height in 1855, the year after the first great immigrant wave reached its peak. The first act of the Know-Nothings was at Providence, R. I., in 1852. The students of Harvard and Yale were leaders in the movement and their recreation times in Boston and New Haven were spent in breaking the windows of Catholic houses, churches and convents, and in insulting the Sisters and priests on the streets. At Providence, the conversion of a Protestant lady, the daughter of a prominent American family, and her reception into the Sisters of Mercy Convent there, was the signal for the attack. The town was placarded calling on all loyal citizens to assist in destroying the convent. The Mayor came to the convent and advised the Sisters to leave. On their refusal, he left them at the mercy of the mob.[11]

The inveterate hatred many Americans had for all things Catholic is shown very clearly by the bigotry in the Army and Navy, where Catholic soldiers and sailors were forced at the point of the bayonet to attend Protestant sermons. The history of the Know-Nothingism from 1852 down to our Civil War (1861) is but another chapter in the record of American folly. In Manchester, N. H., Lowell, Mass., and throughout New England, churches were burnt, priests and Sisters attacked; the Fourth of July was used as an occasion to burn down Catholic property, while Thanksgiving day was used as a day of excitement from Protestant pulpits against the Church. Among the acts brought about by the Know-Nothing influence were the Convent Inspection Bill of Massachusetts, in 1835; the attack on St. Mary's Church, Newark, New Jersey, in September, 1854; the Bloody Monday of August 5, 1855, in Louisville, Kentucky; the disgraceful treatment meted out to Archbishop Bedini, who had been sent by

[10] Prime, *op. cit.*

[11] Condon, *op. cit.*

Pius IX to examine into numerous ecclesiastical matters here, and the plot to assassinate him; and the spread of anti-Catholic street preaching in New York and Philadelphia. The backbone of the Know-Nothing movement collapsed in 1861, when at the first call of President Lincoln, 150,000 Irish Catholics volunteered for the war.

In 1854, appeared a secret political society, pledged to the exclusion from office of all except native-born and those friendly to such exclusion. This society was opposed to any who professed the Catholic religion.

The Patriotic Sons of America, founded in Philadelphia in 1847 and reorganized in 1866, sought to inculcate pure Americanism by opposing all foreign influence, by insisting upon the separation of Church and State, by keeping public schools free from ecclesiastical influence and by requiring longer residence of foreigners before admission to citizenship. This has remained the general platform of all subsequent Nativist organizations.

The rapid growth of the Catholic Church called out, in 1894, another anti-Catholic movement in American history, namely, the American Protective Association. Its aim was the destruction of the Catholic Church's influence; and the exclusion of the Catholic immigrants from our shores. The A. P. A. asserts: "We attack no man's religion as long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power."[12] Yet a member of the A. P. A. was bound by his oath never to favor the nomination of a Catholic for public office nor to employ a Catholic in any services where a Protestant could be obtained. The A. P. A. movement boasted a system of espionage by which spies were detailed to report the doings of prominent Catholics and to make public the secret plottings of these "enemies of the republic."

The mantle of the American Protective Association has fallen upon the shoulders of the Ku Klux Klan so far as anti-Catholicism is concerned. In parts of the Middle West, where the American Protective Association found its main support, the Klan organizers have been endorsed by former members of the A. P. A., thus indicating the kinship of the two movements. There is in existence today about thirty-five periodicals in different parts of the country, more abominable in tone and more immoral than those of the early '30s devoted to one purpose—the villification of our Church, and the determination to arouse the uneducated element of the American people to violence against the liberty the Catholic religion enjoys in

[12] John M. Mecklin, *The Ku Klux Klan,* New York, 1924.

this country. The Klan is a lineal descendant of Know-Nothingism and the American Protective Association and hence of the Native Americanism of 1835, whose fundamental political dogma was: "Americans alone shall govern America."

In 1848, Morse was compelled to defend his invention in the courts. His case was brought to the Supreme Court who on January 30, 1854, handed down the decision that "Samuel F. B. Morse is the true and first inventor of the recording telegraph."[13] In 1847, Morse purchased a home in Poughkeepsie, and the following year, 1848, he married Miss Sarah G. Griswold, the daughter of his cousin. Except for an occasional trip to Europe, Morse spent his summers with his family in Poughkeepsie and his winters in New York City, till his death, April 2, 1872, in New York.

The *New York World* for Wednesday, April 3, 1872, the day after his death, says of him:

Professor Morse has died in a green old age—he almost completed his eighty-first year. To few men has it been permitted to assist at their own apotheoses, and yet such has been his privilege. He has lived long enough to hear the favorable verdict of posterity—for no future revision will fundamentally alter or amend the view taken of his work. He has been fortunate in his ancestors, relatives and friends. He has had "honor, love, obedience, troops of friends." He has not only taken, but given. And today the civilized world goes into mourning for a plain, American citizen—an artist and inventor—who, true to himself, never dabbled in politics or took part in war. We weave an oaken garland today not for the king, statesman, or conqueror, but for the man who unostentatiously benefited his fellow men.

The New York *Daily Tribune* for April 4, 1872, speaking of his world-wide fame says:

His last hours were passed so quietly that there is nothing of interest to record concerning them, and when he peacefully breathed his last he was surrounded only by the members of his family. Governor Hoffman (New York) sent the following communication to the (State) Legislature: "The telegraph today announces the death of its inventor, Samuel F. B. Morse. Born in Massachusetts, his home has for many years of his eventful life been New York—his fame belongs to neither, but to the country and the world. Yet it seems fitting that this great State in which he lived and died, should be the first to pay appropriate honors to his memory. Living, he received from Governments more public honors than was ever paid to any private citizen. Dead, let all the people pay homage to his name.

[13] Prime, *op. cit.*

The same paper for April 5, 1872, the day of his funeral in New York City, says:

The telegraph circuit of the world will today be tremulous with the announcement that the mortal remains of S. F. B. Morse, the great electrician, are borne to their last resting place. Wherever the sensitive vibrations have penetrated there will be a new sense of loss as men reflect that the great man has passed forever out of the reach of the world's honors and reverence. His fame has encompassed the globe, and everywhere his name will be held in high esteem. . . . As an artist, philosopher, public benefactor, useful citizen, and Christian gentleman, he has gained the admiration and affections of many and different classes; the Art, Science, and Philanthropy will do honor to the memory of the man whose death, coming when he was full of years and honors, is thus shorn of half its gloomy surroundings.

Many American cities, towns, and States, the United States government and foreign countries passed resolutions expressing their sorrow at the death of a great artist, poet, litterateur and inventor —Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

Rev. Francis John Connors, A. F. M.

Maryknoll, N. Y.

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(*Continued from July issue*)

CHAPTER IV

Father Hennepin's Part in La Salle's Voyages

By reason of a book that was published closely subsequent to the La Salle explorations attributed (falsely we think) to Father Louis Hennepin in which false claims were made for him of a visit to the Gulf of Mexico many writers have denounced him as a prevaricator and a fraud.

It is certain, however, that all that appears in his authentic writings was true and a better understanding of the La Salle journeys may be had by reading Father Hennepin's works from which we quote:

Before leaving Fort Creve Couer (at the present site of Peoria) La Salle directed Tonti to take charge and left with him the two Recollect Fathers, Ribourde and Membre. For Father Hennepin he had another mission—the exploration of the Mississippi to its source.

Taking two companions in a canoe, Father Hennepin paddled down the Illinois to the Mississippi and pursued his journey up the Mississippi. The journey was practically without incident until on April 12, 1680, they encountered a party of Sioux Indians, were captured and held prisoners until released at the behest of Daniel Greysolon d'Lhut, a noted French hunter for whom the city of Duluth is named. They were able to proceed on their journey to near the headwaters of the Mississippi and passed and named St. Anthony's Falls. In his letters he tells the story:

Father Hennepin's Story

An Account of the building of a New Fort on the River of the Illinois, named by the Savages Checagou, and by us Fort Crevecoeur; as also a barque to go down the River Mississippi.

I must observe here that the hardest winter lasts not above two months in this charming country; so that on the 15th, of January there came a sudden thaw which made the rivers navigable and the weather so mild as it is with us in the middle of the Spring. M. la Salle improving this fair season, desired me to go down the river with him to choose a place fit to build our fort. After having viewed the country we pitched upon an eminence on the bank of the river, defended on that side of the river and on two others by two ditches the rains had made very deep by succession of time; so that it was

accessible only by one way; therefore we cast a line to join those two natural ditches, and made the eminence steep on every side, supporting the earth with great pieces of timber. We made a hasty lodgment thereon, to be ready to defend us in case the Savages would obstruct the building of our fort; but nobody offering to disturb us, we went on diligently with our work. Fathers Gabriel, Zenobe and I made in the meantime a cabin of planks, wherein our workmen came to prayers every morning and evening; but having no wine, we could not say Mass. The fort being half finished, M. la Salle lodged himself in the middle with M. Tonti and everybody took his post. We placed our forge along the courtin on the side of the wood and laid in a great quantity of coals for that use.

In the meantime our thoughts were always bent towards our discovery, and M. la Salle and I had frequent conferences about it: But our greatest difficulty was to build a barque, for our sawers being gone, we did not know what to do. However, as the timber was cheap, we told our men that if any of them would undertake to saw boards for building the said barque, we might surmount all other difficulties. Two men undertook it; and though they had never tried it before, they succeeded very well, so that we began to build a barque, the keel whereof was forty-two feet long. Our men went on so briskly with the work, that on the first of March our barque was half built and all the timber ready prepared for the finishing of it. Our fort was also very near finished; and we named it the Fort of Crevecouer, because the desertion of our men, and the other difficulties we labored under had almost broke our hearts.

Though the winter is not harder nor longer in the country of the Illinois than in Provence, the snow remained upon the earth in the year 1680 for twenty days together, which had not been seen in the memory of man. This made the Savages mightily concerned, and brought upon us a world of inconveniences besides the many others we suffered. In the meantime, we perfected our fort; and our barque was in such a forwardness, that we might have expected to be in a condition to sail in a very short time, had we provided with all other necessaries; but hearing nothing of our ship, and therefore wanting the rigging and other tackle for our barque, we found ourselves in great perplexity, and did not know what to do in this sad juncture, being above five hundred leagues from Fort Frontenac, whither it was almost impossible to return at that time, because the snow made the traveling very dangerous by land, and the ice made it impracticable to our canoes.

M. la Salle did not doubt then but his beloved Griffin was lost; his great courage buoyed him up, and he resolved to return to Fort Frontenac by land, notwithstanding the snow, and the unspeakable dangers attending to so great a voyage. We had a long conference about it in private, wherein having examined all things, it was resolved that he should return to Fort Frontenac with three men to bring along with him the necessary things to proceed on our discovery, while I with two men should go in a canoe to the River

Mississippi and endeavor to get the friendship of those nations inhabiting the banks of that river. Our resolution was certainly very great and bold, but there was this essential difference, that the inhabitants of the countries through which M. la Salle was to travel, knew the Europeans; whereas those Savages whom I designed to visit, had never heard of us in their life; and had been represented by the Illinois, as the most barbarous nation in the world. However, M. la Salle and I had courage enough to undertake our difficult task, but we had much ado to persuade five of our men to follow us or to engage to expect our return at Fort Crevecoeur.[1]

Containing an Account of what was transacted at Fort Crevecoeur before M. la Salle's return to Fort Frontenac; and the instructions we received from a Savage concerning the River Mississippi.

Before M. la Salle and I parted, we found means to undeceive our men, and removed the groundless fears they had conceived from what the Illinois, through the suggestions of Monso, had told us concerning the dangers or rather the impossibility of sailing upon the River Mississippi. Some Savages inhabiting beyond that river, came to the Camp of the Illinois and gave us an account of it, very different from what Nikanape had told us; some other Savages owned that it was navigable and not interrupted by rocks and falls, as the Illinois would make us believe; and one of the Illinois themselves, being gained by some small presents, told us in great secrecy that the account their Chief had given us was a downright forgery, contrived on purpose to oblige us to give over our enterprise. This revived somewhat our men; but they were still wavering and irresolute, and therefore M. la Salle said that he would fully convince them that the Illinois had resolved in their council to forge that account in order to stop our voyage, and a few days after we met with a favorable opportunity for it.

The Illinois had made an excursion Southward, as they were returning with some prisoners, one of their warriors came before their comrades and visited us at our Fort; We entertained him as well as we could, and asked him several questions touching the River Mississippi, from whence he came, and where he had been oftentimes, giving him to understand that some other Savage had given us an account of it. He took a piece of Charcoal and drew a map of the course of that river, which I found afterwards pretty exact; and told us that he had been in a pyrogue, that is, a canoe made of the trunk of a tree from the mouth of this river, very near the place where the Mississippi falls into the great Lake; for so they called the sea. That there was neither falls nor rapid currents as we had been told; that it was very broad towards the great Lake, and interrupted with banks of sand; but that there were large canals betwixt them, deep enough for any pyrogue. He told us also the name of several na-

[1] Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America,* pp. 170-173.

tions inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi and of several rivers that fall into it. I set down in my journal all that he told us, of which I shall perhaps give a larger account in another place. We made him a small present to thank him for his kindness in discovering a truth which the chief of his nation had so carefully concealed. He desired us to hold our tongue and never mention him, which we promised, and gave him an axe, wherewith we shut his mouth, according to the custom of the Savages when they recommend a secret.

The next day after prayers, we went to the village of the Illinois, whom we found in the cabin of one of their chiefs, who entertained them with a bear whose flesh is much valued among them. They desired us to sit down upon a fine mat of rushes: And sometimes after our interpreter told them that we were come to acquaint them that the Maker of all things and the Master of the lives of men took a particular care of us and had been pleased to let us have a true account of the river Mississippi; the navigation whereof they had represented to us as impracticable. We added all the particulars we had learned, but in such terms that it was impossible they should suspect any of their men.

The Savages were much surprised, and did not doubt but we had that account by some extraordinary way; therefore, they shut their mouths with their hands, which is their usual custom to express their admiration by. They told us frankly afterwards that the great desire they had to stop amongst them our Captain and the grey-coats or barefoot, as they called the Franciscans, had obliged them to forge the stories they had told us, and to conceal the truth; but since we had come to the knowledge of it by another way, they would tell us all that they knew, and confirmed every particular their warrior had told us. This confession removed the fears of our men, who were a few days after still more fully persuaded that the Illinois had only designed to frighten us from our discovery: For several Savages of the Nations of Osages, Cikaga and Akansas came to see us, and brought fine furs to barter for our axes. They told us that the Mississippi was navigable almost from its source to the sea, and gave us great encouragement to go on with our design, assuring us that all the nations inhabiting along the river from the mouth of that of the Illinois to the sea would come to meet us and dance the Calumet of Peace as they express it, and make an alliance with us.

The Miamis arrived much about that time and danced the Calumet with the Illinois, making an alliance with them against the Iroquois, their implacable enemies. We were witnesses to their treaty, and M. la Salle made them some presents, the better to oblige both parties to the observation of their league.

We were three missionaries for that handful of Europeans at Fort Crevecoeur, and therefore we thought fit to divide ourselves: Father Gabriel being very old, was to continue with our men; and Father Zenobe among the Illinois, having desired it himself, in hopes to convert that numerous nation: And I, as I have already related, was to go on with our discovery. Father Zenobe lived already among the

Illinois but the rude manners of that people made him soon weary of it. His landlord, whose name was Omahouka, that is to say Wolf, was the head of a tribe, and took a special care of Father Zenobe, especially after M. la Salle had made him some presents: He loved him as a child, but however, I perceived in the visits he made us, (for he lived but within half a League of our Fort) that he was not satisfied to live amongst that brutish nation, though he had already learned their tongue. This obliged me to offer him to take his place, provided he would supply mine, and go on with our discovery amongst several nations, whose language we did not understand, and who had never heard us; but Father Zenobe forseeing the danger and fatigue I was like to be exposed to, chose to remain with the Illinois, whose temper we knew and with whom he was able to converse.

M. la Salle left M. Tonti to command in Fort Crevecoeur, and ordered our carpenter to prepare some thick planks of oak to fence the deck of our barque in the nature of a parapet, to cover it against the arrows of the Savages in case they designed to shoot at us from the shore. Then calling his men together, he desired them to obey M. Tonti's orders in his absence, to live in a Christian union and charity; to be courageous and firm in their design; and above all to give no credit to the false reports that the Savages might make unto them, either of him, or of their comrades that were going with me. He assured them that he would return with all the speed imaginable and bring along with him a fresh supply of men, ammunition and rigging for our barque, and that in the meantime, he left them arms and other things necessary for a vigorous defence in case their enemies should attack them before his return.

He told me afterwards that he expected I should depart without any further delay, but I told him that though I had promised him to do it, yet a defluxion I had on my gums a year since, as he knew very well, obliged me to return to Canada to be cured, and that I would then come back with him. He was very much surprised and told me he would write to my superiors that I had obstructed the good success of our mission, and desired Father Gabriel to persuade me to the contrary. That good man had been my master during my Novitiate in our Convent of Bethune in the Province of Artois, and therefore I had so great a respect for him that I yielded to his advice, and considered that since a man of his age had ventured to come along with me in so dangerous a mission, it would look as pusilanimity in me to return and leave him. That Father had left a very good estate, being heir of a Noble family of the Province of Burgundy, and I must own that his example revived my courage upon several occasions.

M. la Salle was mightily pleased when I told him I was resolved to go, notwithstanding my indisposition: He embraced me and gave me a Calumet of Peace, and two men to manage our canoe, whose names were Anthony Auguel, surnamed the Picard du Gay and Mitchel Ako, of the Province of Poictou to whom he gave some com-

modities to the value of about 1000 livres to trade with the Savages or make presents. He gave to me in particular and for my own use, ten knives, twelve shoe-maker's auls or bodkins, a small roll of tobacco from Martinico, about two pounds of Raffade; that is to say little pearls or rings of colored glass, wherewith the Savages make bracelets and other works, and a small parcel of needles to give to the Savages, telling me that he would have given me a greater quantity if it had been in his power.

The reader may judge by these particulars of the rest of my equipage for so great an undertaking; however, relying myself on the Providence of God, I took my leave of M. la Salle and embraced all our men, receiving the blessing of Father Gabriel who told me several things to inspire me with courage; concluding his exhortation by these words of the Scripture, *Viriliter age, & confortetur Cor tuum.* M. la Salle set out a few days after for Canada, with three men, without any provisions but what they killed in their journey, during which they suffered very much by reason of the snow, hunger and cold weather.[2]

The Author sets out form Fort Crevecoeur to continue his voyage.

Whosoever will consider the dangers to which I was going to expose myself in an unknown country, where no European had traveled before, and amongst some Savages whose language I did not understand, will not blame the reluctancy I expressed against that voyage: I had such an idea of it, that neither the fair words or threats of M. la Salle would have been able to engage me to venture my life so rashly, had I not felt within myself a secret but strong assurance, if I may use that word, that God would help and prosper my undertaking.

We set out from Fort Crevecoeur on the 29th, of February 1680, and as we fell down the river, we met with several companies of Savages who returned to their habitations with their pirogues or wooden canoes loaded with the bulls they had killed: they would fain persuade us to return with them, and the two men who were with me were willing to follow their advice; telling me that M. la Salle had as good to have murdered us: But I opposed their design, and told them that the rest of our men would stop them as they should come from the Fort if they offered to return, and so we continued our voyage. They confessed to me the next day that they had resolved to leave me with the Savages and make their escape with the canoe and commodities, thinking that there was no sin in that, since M. la Salle was indebted to them in a great deal more than their value, and that I had been very safe. This was the first discouragement I met with, and the forerunner of a great many others.

The River of the Illinois is very near as deep and broad as the Meuse and Sambre before Namur; but we found some places where

[2] Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America,* pp. 174-181.

it is about a quarter of a league broad. The banks of the river are not even, but interrupted with hills disposed almost at an equal distance and covered with fine trees. The Valley between them is a marshy ground which is overflowed after great rains, especially in the Autumn and Spring. We had the curiosity to go up one of those hills, from whence we discovered vast meadows with forests such as we had seen before we arrived at the village of the Illinois. The river flows so softly that the current is hardly perceptible except when it swells: But it will carry at all times great barques for above 100 leagues; that is, from the said village to its mouth. It runs directly to the South-west. On the 7th, of March we met, within two leagues from the River Mississippi, a nation of the Savages called Tamaroa or Maroa consisting of about 200 families. They designed to bring us along with them to their village, which lies to the West of Mississippi about seven leagues from the mouth of the river of the Illinois; but my men fellowed my advice and would not stop, in hopes to exchange their commodities with more advantage in a more remote place. Our resolution was very good; for I don't question but they would have robbed us; for seeing we had some arms, they thought we were going to carry them to their enemies. They pursued us in their pyrogues or wooden canoes, but ours being made of bark of birch-trees, and consequently ten times lighter than theirs, and better framed, we laughed at their endeavors and got clear of them. They had sent a party of their warriors to lie in ambuscade on a neck of land advancing into the river, where they thought we should pass that evening or the next morning, but having discovered some smoke on that point, we spoiled their design, and therefore crossed the river and landed in a small island near the other side, where we lay all night, leaving our canoe in the water under the guard of a little dog, who doubtless would have awakened us if anybody had offered to come near him, as we expected the Savages might attempt it, swimming over in the night, but nobody came to disturb us. Having thus avoided those Savages, we came to the mouth of the river of the Illinois, distant from their great village about 100 leagues, and 50 from Fort Crevecoeur. It falls into the Mississippi between 35 and 36 degrees of latitude, and within 120 or 130 leagues from the Gulf of Mexico, according to our conjecture, without including the turnings and windings of the Mississippi from thence to the sea.

The angle between the two rivers on the South side is a steep rock of forty feet high, and flat on the top, and consequently a fit place to build a fort; and on the other side of the river, the ground appears blackish, from whence I judge that it would prove fertile and afford two crops every year for the subsistence of a colony. The soil looks as if it had been already manured.

The ice which came down from the source of the Mississippi stopped us in that place till the 12th, of March, for we were afraid of our canoe: But when we saw the danger over, we continued our course, sounding the river to know whether it was navigable. There are three small islands over against the mouth of the river of the Illinois, which stop the trees and pieces of timber that come down

the river, which by succession of time has formed some banks: But the canals are deep enough for the greatest barques, and I judge that in the driest summer there is water enough for flat-bottom boats.

The Mississippi runs to the South-South-West, between two ridges of mountains which follow the great windings of the river. They are near the banks at the mouth of the river of the Illinois, and are not very high; but in other places they are some leagues distant; and the meadows between the river and the foot of those hills are covered with an infinite number of wild bulls. The country beyond those hills is so fine and pleasant that according to the account I have had, one might justly call it a *delight of America.*

The Mississippi is in some places a league broad and half a league where it is narrowest. The rapidity in its current is somewhat abated by a great number of islands covered with fine trees interlaced with vines. It received but two rivers from the west side, one whereof is called Otontenta, and the other discharges itself into it near the Fall of St. Anthony of Padoua, as we shall observe hereafter, but so many others run into the Mississippi from the North that it swells very much toward its mouth.[3]

La Salle's Further Efforts

We left La Salle loaded with misfortunes at Fort Frontenac. A stout heart even would quail under such burdens, but La Salle was invincible. He had at least the necessary materials for his vessel on the Illinois and the necessary tools and supplies for his Illinois party. His chief concern was to get them to their destination. This difficulty, too, was overcome on the 10th of August, 1680, when he set out for the Illinois again accompanied by another faithful lieutenant, Francois Dauphine de la Forest, a surgeon, ship carpenters, joiners, masons, soldiers, voyageurs and laborers, twenty-five men in all.

Leaving a portion of his men with La Forest, he pushed on with the others and reached the ruined fort at St. Joseph (in Indiana) on November 4th. He ascended the St. Joseph River, crossed the portage to the Kankakee and reached the Illinois. Parkman calls attention to a novel experience of the intrepid explorer as he passed down the Illinois:

"Far and near," says Parkman, "the prairie was alive with buffalo; now like black specks dotting the distant swells; now trampling by in ponderous columns or filing in long lines morning, noon and night to drink at the river—wading, plunging and snorting in the water; climbing the muddy shores and staring with wild eyes at the passing canoes.[4]

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[3] Thwaites: *A New Discovery of a Large Country in America,* pp. 182-186.

[4] Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West,* p. 151.

His party shot several of the big cattle and other game during a hunt which they organized and pressed on. They passed through the great Kaskaskia village and found it deserted and in ruins. They also found abundant and ghastly evidence of the slaughter which the Iroquois had committed. With fainting hearts they passed on down the Illinois which they now found a valley of horrors. On one side of the river they saw successive abandoned camps of the Iroquois and on the other of the Illinois, evidences of the flight of the Illinois and the pursuit of the Iroquois. They passed Peoria Lake and reached Fort Crevecouer which they found demolished as they expected from previously obtained information. The vessel on the dock was entire, but the Iroquois had drawn out the nails and spikes which held it together. On one of the planks was written in French, no doubt by one of the deserters, "*nous sommes tous sauvages*: *ce* 15-1680," meaning we are all savages.

As they drew near the mouth of the stream (the Illinois River) they saw a meadow on their right, and on its farthest verge several human figures erect yet motionless. They landed and cautiously examined the place. The long grass was trampled down and all around were strewn the relics of the hideous orgies which formed the ordinary sequels of an Iroquois victory. The figures they had seen were the half consumed bodies of women still bound to the stakes where they had been tortured. Other sights there were too revolting for record. All the remains were those of women and children, the men it seemed had fled and left them to their fate.[5]

Again entering their canoes they descended to the mouth of the river, and La Salle's eyes for the first time rested upon the Mississippi. This great waterway had been the subject of his dreams and ambitious for years, but there was no time for reflection. He must use every effort to find Tonti and his party. Stripping the bark from a great tree overhanging the river he made it more conspicuous and fastened to it a board with a drawing of his party and a peace pipe for the information of the Indians and for Tonti's information should he happen that way, a letter stating that he had been at that point and had returned up the river.

Retracing their course in feverish anxiety for the object of their search—Tonti and his men—the great explorer was not so engrossed but that he was able to note cooly and record his observations of a great comet that caused much excitement in civilized centers of the world.

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[5] Parkman: *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great Northwest*, p. 197.

By the 6th of January, 1681, La Salle's little party reached the junction of the Kankakee and Illinois Rivers and instead of branching off into the Kankakee the stream on which they came, they pressed up the Illinois and soon discovered a rude cabin in which they found evidences as they believed of the recent presence of Tonti and his companions. Cheered by their discovery, they hurried on overland towards the St. Joseph, and after a very difficult tramp, reached Fort Miami where La Forest and the men left with him welcomed them.

Here La Salle spent the winter, but not idly. His energies were devoted to establishing good relations with the various tribes of Indians and in much other important work. He never lost sight of his purpose to explore the Mississippi to the sea, and with the Spring began active preparations for a continuance of this enterprise.

"To this end," says his biographer, "he must return to Canada, appease his creditors and collect his scattered resources." Near the end of May he set out from Fort Miami and reached Michilimackinac after an easy voyage. Here at last he found Tonti and Father Membre who had lately arrived from Green Bay. As might be expected, the meeting was a joyful one—each had for the other a story of disaster. Tonti in his succinct manner only says: "He (La Salle) was very glad to see us again, and notwithstanding all reverses, we made new preparations to continue the exploration which he had undertaken."

Without delay, La Salle, Tonti and Father Membre embarked together for Fort Frontenac, paddling their canoes a thousand miles, and reached their destination safely.

Again was La Salle confronted with his misfortunes; harrassed by his creditors and forced to beg additional help, his position was extremely difficult. So loyal was Count Frontenac, however, that through his assistance and that of his secretary, Barrois, an able business man, and the help of a wealthy business relative, he satisfied his creditors and secured sufficient additional means to undertake another journey.

After making his will in favor of a cousin, Francois Plet, to whom he was greatly indebted, he gathered a new force and set forth once more.

Writing to a friend in France, he expressed the hope that this journey would "turn out well: for I have M. de Tonti, who is full of zeal; thirty Frenchmen, all good men without reckoning such as I cannot trust; and more than a hundred Indians, some of the Shaw-

noes and others from New England, all of whom know how to use guns."

As the party proceeded, others were added and there were some desertions, so that the expedition finally included fifty-four persons. In the dead of winter, the last days of December, they reached the Chicago River. There they made sledges upon which they placed their canoes, the baggage and a disabled Frenchman, and dragged them from the Chicago to the northern branch of the Illinois River and proceeded down its frozen course. It was not until they passed Lake Peoria that they found open waters.

For this trip through Illinois, Tonti's Memoir is interesting.

Tonti's letter describes the remainder of the journey, but the item of greatest interest concerns the journey's end and the ceremony of taking possession of the country in the name of the King of France.

Taking Possession in the Name of France

This ceremony of taking possession was a most interesting proceeding. Once before on June 14, 1671, at the Sault Ste. Marie, in territory now lying within the boundaries of the United States, had the standard of France and the Cross been raised and possession of the country claimed in the name of the King. These new discoveries, however, justified a further ceremony which La Salle had elaborately carried out.

From a document in the Department of Marines Paris appears the following:

"A column was erected, and the arms of France were affixed with this inscription:

'Louis Le Grand
Rio De France Et Navarre, Regne;
Le Neuvieme Avrip.' 1682"

The following ceremonies were then performed, viz.: "The whole party, under arms, chanted the Te Deum, the Exaudiat, the Domine Salvum fac Regem; and then after a salute of firearms, and cries of Vive le roi, the column was erected by M. de la Salle, who, standing near it, said with a loud voice in French, 'In the name of the most high, mighty, invincible, and victorious prince, Louis the Great, by the grace of God king of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two, I, in virtue of the commission of his majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken, and do now take, in the name of his majesty, and of his suc-

cessors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, adjacent straits, and all the nations, peoples, cities, town, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams, and rivers comprised in the extent of said Louisiana, from the mouth of the great River St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chuckagona, and this with the consent of the Chouanons, Chickachas, and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the River Colbert, or Mississippi, and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious, and this with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Coroas, and Natchez, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom we also have made alliance, either by ourselves, or by others in our behalf, as far as its mouth at the Sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the twenty-seventh degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert, hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands above described, to the prejudice of the right of his majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be ceded, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand the act of the notary as required by law.'

"To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le roi, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover, the Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate with the arms of France ,and the following Latin inscription:

Ludovicum Magnus Regnat,
Nono Aprilis, CI I C LXXXII.

"Robertus Cavalier, CVM Domino De Tonti, Legato, R. P. Zenobia Membre, Recollecto, Et. Viginti, Callis, Primis Hoc Flvmen, Inde AB Illineorvm Pago Enavigavit, Ejvsqve Ostivm Fecit Pervivm, Nono Aprilis, Anno CI I C LXXXII.' "

The whole ceremony was witnessed by attendants in a proces verbal, which concludes in the following words, viz.:

"After which the Sieur de la Salle said, that his majesty as eldest son of the Church, would annex no country to his crown without making it his chief care to establish the Christian religion therein, and that its symbol must now be planted; which was accordingly done at once by erecting a cross, before which the Vexilla and the Domine Salvum fac Regem were sung. Whereupon the ceremony was concluded with cries of Vive le roi.

Of all and every of the above, the said Sieur de la Salle having required of us an instrument, we have delivered to him the same,

signified by us, and by the undersigned witnesses, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred and eighty-two.

La Metaire, Notary."

De La Salle.
P. Zenobe, Recollect Missionary.
Henry De Tonti.
Francois De Boisrondet.
Jean Bourdon.
Sieur d'Autray.
Jacques Cauchois.
Pierre You.
Gilles Meuoret.
Jean Michel, Surgeon.
Jean Mas.
Jean Dulignon.
Nicholas De La Salle."[6]

The Te Deum with which the song service was opened is the renowned triumphal hymn of the Church, sung on all occasions of rejoicing for merited success. There is a tradition that it was composed "spontaneously and sung alternately" by Saints Ambrosius and Augustine on the night of St. Augustine's baptism A. D. 378, and while the tradition is rejected by many scholars, no other authority has been suggested, and the hymn has been set down in Catholic hymnals and rubrics at least as early as A. D. 502.[7]

The following is a translation found in the hymnals:

The Domine Salvum Fac Regem or prayer for the king or ruler is found in a Latin prayer-book as follows:

Versicle. Domine, salvum fac regem nostrum. (Lord, save our king.)

Response. Et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te. (And hear us on the day which we have called upon thee.)

Versicle. Domine, exaudi orationem meam. (Lord, hear my prayer.)

Response. Et clamor meus ad te veniat. (And let my outcry reach thee.)

Versicle. Dominus vobiscum.

Response. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.	*Let us Pray!*
Pateant aures misericordiae tuae, Domine, precibus supplicantium; et, ut petentibus desiderata concedas, fac eos, quae tibi sunt placita postulare. Per Dominum nostrum J. C. filium tuum, qui tecum vicit, etc.	Let the ears of thy mercy, O Lord, be open to the prayers of the suppliants and as thou grantest what they wish, make them petition the things that are pleasing to thee through Jesus Christ, thy Son, who with thee . . . etc.

It was chanted at the conclusion of the Mass on solemn occasions, and perhaps the prayer varied on various occasions.[8]

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[6] Sparks' *Life of La Salle*, pp. 199, 200.

[7] Catholic Encyclopedia, xvi. 468.

[8] *Coelestes Palmetum* (1895), p. 739. Published by H. Dessain of Mechlin.

TE DEUM

O God, we praise Thee as true God,
And we confess Thee Lord;
Thee, the Eternal Father, who
Art everywhere adored:
All Angels, Cherubs, Heavenly Powers,
And Seraphim, proclaim,
With ceaseless canticles of praise,
Thy ever-glorious Name.
O Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord,
And God of Hosts, they cry;
The glory of Thy Majesty
Fills earth and Heaven high.
The glorious Apostles' Choir,
The numerous Prophets too,
And white-robed Martyrs' armies, all
Declare Thy praises due.
Throughout the universal world,
The Holy Church doth sing
Thy Holy Name, and doth confess
Thee for her Lord and King:
Father of Majesty immense,
Thy true and Only Son
Ever revered, and Holy Ghost,
Thrice Blessed Three in One.
Christ Jesus, Thou of glory art
The rightful King and Lord;
And Thou art the Father born,
Eternal Son and Word.
Thou, when on earth, to save mankind,
Man's nature Thou wouldst take,
Thy dwelling in the Virgin's womb
Didst not disdain to make.
When Thou the cruel darts of death
Hadst bravely overcome,
Thou Heaven to believers all
Didst open for their home.
Thou, seated at Thy Father's right,
In glory e'er dost reign,
We all believe that, as our Judge,
Thou art to come again;
We pray Thee, then, Thy servants' help,
Whom, on Thy Holy Rood,
Thou deignedst to redeem and save,
With Thy most Precious Blood:
And grant to them the precious grace,
That they may numbered be,
In glory, with Thy Saints above,
Through all Eternity.

Ah! save Thy people, dearest Lord,
And make them ever live,
And ever to Thy heritage
Thy special Blessing give.
Vouchsafe to rule and govern them
Thyself Eternally,
And to exalt them, and to raise
Them up on high to Thee.
Each coming day, O Lord, to Thee
We hymns of blessing raise,
And praise and glorify Thy Name,
Through everlasting days.
To keep ourselves from sin this day
The grace on us bestow,
And always, dearest Lord, to us
Thy loving mercy show.
Show mercy to us, Lord, as we
Have put our trust in Thee,
I've hoped in Thee, O Lord, then let
Me ne'er confounded be. Amen.

The Exaudiat sung on this and similar occasions is the XIX Psalm of David and reads as follows:

PSALM XIX

EXAUDIAT TE DOMINUS. A PRAYER FOR THE KING.

1. Unto the end. A psalm for David.

2. May the Lord hear thee in the day of tribulation: may the name of the God of Jacob protect thee.

3. May he send thee help from the sanctuary: and defend thee out of Sion.

4. May he be mindful of all thy sacrifices: and may thy whole burnt-offering be made fat.

5. May he give thee according to thy own heart: and confirm all thy counsels.

6. We will rejoice in thy salvation; and in the name of our God we shall be exalted.

7. The Lord fulfil all thy petitions: now have I known that the Lord hath saved his anointed.

He will hear from his holy heaven: the salvation of his right hand is in powers.

8. Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God.

9. They are bound, and have fallen; but we are risen, and are set upright.

O Lord, save the king: and hear us in the day that we shall call upon thee.

La Salle The Fort Builder

During his several voyages La Salle constructed a number of forts, with a view to having a chain of communication and defence from Quebec to Louisiana. It should be said here that La Salle made another voyage, starting this time from France and sailing down the Atlantic and through the Gulf of Mexico. That his navigators missed the mouth of the Mississippi and his ship was stranded on the coast of Texas, where a settlement was begun, which, after much hardship, perished. It was while endeavoring to plant this settlement that La Salle, in making further explorations, was murdered by members of his own party. The story of this journey, as best told by Parkman, is one of the saddest narratives of American history.

Joseph J. Thompson.

Chicago, Illinois.

COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO AND GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Of George Rogers Clark's conquest of the Illinois country a recent writer says, "A more daring offensive is hardly to be found in history."[1] The credit for conceiving this conquest of the Northwest Territory with a mere handful of pioneers belongs to Clark; but the credit for accomplishing it is to be shared equally with Francis Vigo, an American patriot of Italian descent and Spanish citizenship. Vigo risked his life and gave his fortune and years of service to a country which proved forgetful and ungrateful. Rightly is he grouped with Clark and Gibault as one who suffered the "penalty of patriotism"[2]—accused, neglected, forgotten, left to die in poverty. Clark, keen judge of men, wrote of him: "A man who has always occupied a distinguished place in my affection and esteem—an affection, the result not so much of being associates in the placid stream of tranquility and the benign sunshine of peace, as companions amidst the din of war and those struggles when the indefatigable exertion of every muscle and nerve was demanded."[3] Such this Vigo, a Catholic gentleman and patriot, whom the historians have woefully neglected.

Francis Vigo was born in Mondovi, Sardinia, in the year 1747, and at an early age enlisted in a Spanish regiment which soon sailed for New Orleans. Evidently he left the army shortly after, for his name appears in St. Louis records in 1770,[4] when he was but twenty-three years old. Vigo was attracted to St. Louis and the Illinois country by the lucrative fur-trade, and became a partner in the firm of Vigo and Gosti of St. Louis.[5] He was also, it seems, a partner of the Spanish Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Louisiana, Don Fernando de Leyba,[6] a connection which was later to prove quite valuable for George Rogers Clark, who obtained considerable aid from de Leyba on the strength of Vigo's introduction.

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[1] Temple Bodley in *George Rogers Clark: His Life and Public Services.* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1926).

[2] Joseph J. Thompson, in *Journal of Illinois State Historical Society,* vol. 9.

[3] Clark to Vigo, August 1, 1811. Vigo Mss. X, 102, in Virginia State Library.

[4] Houck, *History of Missouri,* p. 51-52. (Chicago, 1908)

[5] Consul Butterfield, *History of G. R. Clark's Conquest of the Illinons,* p. 298. (Columbus, Ohio, 1904).

[6] Draper Collection, Clark Mss. 8, p. 33.

Vigo, as merchant, had branch trading-posts in the Illinois towns Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes; but we do not hear of him in connection with Clark until after the retaking of Vincennes by Hamilton (Dec. 17, 1778). Clark, with his little band of 170 backwoodsmen, had in July, 1778, captured Kaskaskia, Prairie du Rocher, St. Philip's, and Cahokia without bloodshed, and by the help of Father Gibault and Dr. Laffont, had secured possession of Vincennes.[7] Clark was unable, however, to spare a garrison for Vincennes, except four or five Americans under Captain Helm, who organized the Creoles of Vincennes into militia. The Creoles, however, proved unreliable, and when Hamilton with his force of 800 British and Indians fell upon Vincennes in December (1778), he recaptured the town practically without opposition, and again hoisted the British flag.

Had Hamilton continued his campaign then to Kaskaskia and Cahokia, in all probability Clark and his forces would have been overcome and the whole of the Illinois country lost to the American cause. But Hamilton elected to winter at Vincennes and gather a large army in the spring to capture and destroy the entire American force in the Illinois, and eventually drive the Americans from Kentucky and back across the Alleghanies. Clark's situation was desperate; he must choose one of the three alternatives; either abandon the country to Hamilton and return to Kentucky (which would mean failure of his whole project and be fatal to the American cause in the West); or await the overwhelming British force to arrive in the spring and probably be butchered by Hamilton and his Indian allies; or make a surprise attack on Hamilton in the depth of winter at Vincennes. At this juncture, with the French inhabitants of the Illinois villages thoroughly discouraged and Clark in a quandary, arrived Vigo, to do his first great service to the American cause.

Early in December, Captain Helm, commander at Vincennes, had written Clark about his need for supplies and equipment. Clark chose the merchant Vigo to go to Vincennes and see about providing the necessary articles, as Vigo had a trading store there and was on the best of terms with the Creoles. Vigo set out on the eighteenth of December (1778), all unconscious of the fact that the British had recaptured Vincennes on the previous day. When he neared Vincennes[8] he was taken into custody by some of Hamilton's Indian allies, stripped of his clothes, money, and horse, and brought before Hamilton as prisoner. Hamilton soon found, however, that instead

[7] Clark's *Memoir*, and his *Letter to Mason*.

[8] Six miles from Vincennes, on the Embarass River.

of a prisoner, he had a hornet on his hands. Vigo was a Spanish citizen, and no legal prisoner. Besides, he was of such high standing with the French of Vincennes (whom Hamilton wished to propitiate) that they daily made intercession for him at the fort, and one author says that even Father Gibault, that power with the people, pleaded for Vigo.[9] Vigo meanwhile, as a privileged prisoner, kept his eyes and ears open, gathering all the information he could for the plan that was in his heart. After some days Hamilton decided to allow him to go free, demanding first that he sign a promise not to do anything prejudicial to the British cause during the period of the war. This the patriotic Vigo flatly refused to do; so Hamilton had to be content with a promise that he would do nothing prejudicial to the British *on his way home* to St. Louis. The wily Vigo made that promise and hurried off to St. Louis, but had hardly touched foot there when he hastened to Clark at Kaskaskia with the news. He arrived there on January twenty-ninth (1779), giving him, as Clark relates, "every information that we could wish for, as he had good opportunity and had taken great pains to inform himself with a design to give intelligence."[10] The information was mainly concerning the size of Hamilton's force, the dispersion of his Indian allies until the spring, and the unpreparedness for an attack during these winter days.

With this, the first reliable and accurate information Clark had about the capture of Vincennes, his indecision was immediately dispelled. Hastily he gathered his recruits from Cahokia, and, using these skilfully, aroused the mercurial Creoles of Kaskaskia from discouragement to a high pitch of enthusiasm for the campaign. A large bateau was fitted out, loaded with powder, several cannon, and forty-six men and dispatched in charge of Captain John Rogers to descend the Mississippi River, push up the Ohio and the Wabash to where they would meet Clark's main force proceeding overland. Vigo and several other merchants in Vincennes loaned Clark money

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[9] This however seems impossible. Father Gibault was at Kaskaskia at the time, and was sent to Spanish territory by Clark. Besides, Hamilton was so incensed at Gibault for aiding the American cause that he would certainly have taken him into custody. On December eighteenth, the day after the capture of Vincennes, he wrote to the Governor at Detroit, "Could I catch the priest, Mr. Gibault, who has lately blown the trumpet of rebellion for the Americans, I should send him down unhurt to your Excellency, to get the reward of his zeal. (Ill. His. Coll. I, 234). Father Gibault was certainly at Kaskaskia on February fifth, for he gave a blessing to the troops leaving for Vincennes.

[10] Illinois Historical Collection I, 237 seq.

and supplies, and with about 130 men, mostly "Long Knives," as the Indians called the rangy Kentucky backwoodsmen, Clark started (February 5, 1779) on one of the most daring and heroic marches of American history. Throughout eighteen days, in the depth of winter, the little army marched through the flooded lowlands between Kaskaskia and Vincennes, often marching with the icy water up to their waists or higher. The last six days and nights were spent almost entirely in the water, and well nigh without provisions.[11] But Vincennes was surprised and fell into Clark's hands, and the English flag was hauled down, never again to fly over Illinois territory.

Thus dramatically, through the information leading to this remarkable victory, Vigo's services to America came into the limelight. Then began for Vigo a life of service to his adopted country, and for America a shameful page of ingratitude. Virginia, heedless of the needs of her little western army,[12] furnished scanty supplies and money, and for some years next to nothing. It was only through the personal sacrifice of Clark and his officers, and of Vigo and a few other patriotic merchants that we were able to retain possession of this entire Northwest Territory, a possession so valuable when the Treaty of Paris was to be arranged. Whatever little financial aid Virginia did send out was in Continental currency, paper money, which tended to depreciate more and more. If it would become worthless in the West, as it had in the East, Clark would have no way of supplying his army or holding it together. Vigo, at tremendous personal sacrifice, upheld the value of the paper money by redeeming and offering to redeem it at face value for anyone demanding it. Vigo himself advanced more than $20,000 to Clark for the support of the troops,[13] risked his life, and lost clothing, horses, and personal belongings in the service of his adopted country; and the reward of his services was ingratitude. His claims on Virginia were ignored; he gave his whole life to the service of Virginia, the Northwest Territory, and finally Indiana, and yet was allowed to die uncompensated, poor, although the State owed him so much, not

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[11] Clark's Memoir, and Captain Bowman's Journal. Quoted by English, Conquest of the N. W. Territory, I, 287 seq.

[12] It should be remembered that the Illinois country still belonged to Virginia, and it was as a citizen of Virginia, and for Virginia that Clark was leading his army, however great his own foresight of the benefits to accrue to the whole country from the possession of this territory.

[13] Cf. for example, Illinois Hist. Coll., vol. 19, p. 274: Draft of Clark on Vigo for $8,716.40 On page 275, same for $1,452.00.

only for his services in her regard but for actual money and goods advanced. Old John Law, the historian of the Northwest Territory, says that it is to Clark and Vigo that the United States are more indebted for the accession of the old Northwest than to any other man.

After the capture of Vincennes, Vigo did not lapse into the state of a plain merchant and financial agent, but as a true public-spirited citizen, gave his services unsparingly to help the State and its government. He is constantly mentioned in letters as helping this or that military officer as messenger between posts; in 1792 he is even mentioned as carrying a letter from Bishop Carroll to Father Gibault at Vincennes;[14] in another, from Major Hamtramck at Detroit to the commandant at Vincennes.[15] Vigo himself was a militia officer, in 1790 signing himself as "Major Commandant of Militia,"[16] and somewhat later as "Colonel Vigo," by which title he was more generally known later. In 1803 he was elected delegate from Knox County, Indiana, to a general convention of the Northwest Territory called by Governor William Henry Harrison.[17] He was always a trusted friend of Governor Harrison, and was frequently sent on confidential missions by him, particularly to the Indians, by whom he was trusted and loved.[18] In 1806 he was elected a member of the first board of trustees of Vincennes University, and until the end of his life was active in advancing the educational facilities and government of Indiana Territory.

Vigo keenly felt, however, the injustice and neglect of the government towards himself, and after a reversal of fortune in the later years of his life, he was heard to say: "I guess the Lord has forgotten me." He might with justice have more truly added "my government has forgotten me."[19] He died poor, without having been compensated by either Virginia or the United States, so abandoned that even the date of his gravestone was incorrect. He died near Vincennes in 1836, not in 1835 as the gravestone has it; and even the expense of his funeral was not paid until forty years after his death.

Vigo was born a Catholic and seems to have practiced his faith throughout life. He was always intimate with Father Gibault, and

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[14] Illinois Hist. Coll., vol. 5, p. 597. Carroll to Gibault.

[15] *Ibid.* 506-508, Hamtramck to Harmar. Also 511.

[16] Esarey's *History of Indiana,* p. 137.

[17] Jacob P. Dunn, *Indiana and Indianans,* p. 235.

[18] Draper Mss. YY, 11.

[19] English, p. 271.

from 1810-1821 was one of the trustees of the Catholic Church at Vincennes. Bishop Brute used to visit him during the times of his illness, and just a year before his death he told the Bishop that if his claim before Congress were paid, the Church should have it.[20] He died, however, without the consolations of religion, and was buried in the public cemetery. How this occurred is unknown. Probably it was because his will provided that he should be buried as his executors should think proper.

And so ends another chapter on the ingratitude of democracies. Governor Harrison paid the following beautiful tribute to Vigo: "I have been acquainted with Colonel Francis Vigo for thirty-nine years, and during the thirteen years that I was Governor of Indiana I lived in the same town with him and upon terms of the most intimate friendship. I solemnly declare that I believe him utterly incapable of making a misrepresentation of the facts however great may be his interest in the matter, and I am also confident that there are more respectable persons in Indiana who would become the guarantees of his integrity than could be induced to lay under a similar responsibility for any other person. His whole life, as long as his circumstances were prosperous, was spent in acts of kindness and benevolence to individuals, and his public spirit and attachment to the institutions of our country proverbial." [21]

A man to whom such a tribute could be paid seems worthy of a better fate, both in life and in history.

CECIL H. CHAMBERLAIN, S. J.

Detroit, Michigan.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Virginia State Library, Ill. Papers, X, 95. Quoted by Bodley.

LETTERS OF BISHOP BENEDICT JOSEPH FENWICK OF BOSTON TO BISHOP JOSEPH ROSATI OF ST. LOUIS

This series of sixteen letters here published for the first time from the originals preserved in the archives of Archdiocese of St. Louis, covers a period of ten years in the history of the Catholic Church in New England. They are fine examples of epistolary writing, spontaneous, unaffected and at times, slily humorous. Their historical value, as sources of recondite information, may not be very great; yet as giving a full and harmonious picture of one of our greatest churchmen, a true apostle, full of faith and zeal and childlike trust in God, they will serve, we hope, a good and high purpose.

Bishop Fenwick of Boston was truly "one of the great bishops of the Church, learned and prudent in the Council, eloquent in the pulpit, energetic and active in his episcopal duties, a father of his clergy and his people."[1] The work he accomplished in his diocese which comprised all of the New England States, was truly wonderful. When he entered upon his episcopal duties in 1825, the entire diocese of Boston had but four churches and only two priests remaining, the Rev. Patrick Byrne of Boston, and the Rev. Dr. Dennis Ryan in the wilds of Maine. Among the numerous converts gained for holy Church by the piety and deep learning of Bishop Fenwick was the great Orestes A. Brownson. It was largely through his brave and magnanimous defense that the rampant and at times murderous spirit of New England puritanism was broken.

Of all these things and more we catch a rapid glance, as we peruse these letters of Bishop Fenwick to one of his confidential friends, the saintly Joseph Rosati. In editing them we have thought proper to give a running commentary on matters not expressed fully or only alluded to. Many things that were quite well known in the writer's day, may have fallen into oblivion. It is the office of an editor to dig them up again and make them presentable. As each letter is independent and complete in itself the elucidations mentioned above may serve to make the context for the various parts of the series.

Boston, April 30, 1830.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received your kind and obliging favor about two weeks ago, and should have answered it immediately, but for the excessively hard duty I had to perform during the Easter term, and which has en-

[1] John Gilmary Shea, *Defenders of Our Faith*, p. 89

grossed my whole time ever since. You may form some idea of our ministerial labors here, when I inform you, that four and sometimes five confessionals have been occupied from seven o'clock until one o'clock A. M., and from three o'clock until nine o'clock P. M. during the space of three weeks. Upwards of two thousand persons were admitted to communion within that space of time. Among these, children under twelve years were not included. These will be prepared for the festival of Pentecost. The Catholic religion is beginning to do well here. The *Jesuit* with all its *asperity* has contributed a good deal to it. Notwithstanding its many faults it has already removed many prejudices from the minds of our good "Yankees" who begin now to look upon Catholic principles in a far more favorable light. One of the main pillars of the Methodist Church has already joined us, a man of high standing in society, and who by his piety and zeal will be a credit to us. We owe his conversion, after God, to the reading of the *Jesuit*. He is now laboring to bring over his wife and his wife's mother and in a few weeks we hope to see the whole of that interesting family united in the family of the *one true Church*. A spirit of inquiry has gone abroad which I think will be the means of gathering many more into the fold.

I fear it will not be easy to borrow the money you require from any of our bankers, upon any security which might be given upon property in Missouri. The distance is too great. They are not sufficiently acquainted with the value of property there to let it out upon a mortgage.

We have begun to issue another paper called the *Expostulator* or *Young Catholic's Guide*. Five numbers have already appeared. It is calculated particularly for the youth of our country and will prove highly instructive and useful to them. I have ordered several to be sent to Mr. Wiggins at St. Louis. I hope they will fall into your hands before you leave it for New Orleans. What you recommended, I have directed to be done. We have already printed one book from the *Jesuit*, viz: *Wardmann's Letters*, which are now for sale very cheap. We are now about forming into a book the *Letters on the Inquisition* which appear also in the *Jesuit* and which are translated from the French of *Compte de Maistre*, with notes and additions. It will form a very neat volume which cannot be too much spread in this country where prejudice runs so strong. We shall publish two books from the *Expostulator* which I am persuaded will greatly please you when you see them. They will consist of the first and the next to the last articles which will regularly appear in that interesting little paper. These are to be our first fruits. I hope you will encourage us to proceed by taking a good number of all that we shall publish. Our Convent does well. It has forty-eight pupils and the school flourishes. Mais Helas! Nous avous grande besoin de Religieuse. Comment les procurer? Voila la difficulte. Mais—patience!

I hope you enjoy good health—take great care of it at New Orleans. Apropos! what is this I hear of the Church there being shut up by order of the Mayor? There is also a report here—indeed

I have read the article in one of our Boston papers, *that a Catholic Priest at New Orleans has been converted to the Methodist Church.* Write me and let me know whether there be any truth in it? If not I shall contradict it in the *Jesuit.* Adieu.

Respectfully,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

Bishop Fenwick introduces himself to his correspondent first of all as a publisher and journalist. On September 8, 1829, he had begun for the defense of the Faith a weekly paper called *The Jesuit or Catholic Sentinel,* one of the earliest Catholic papers in the United States. It was sometimes accused of asperity. For a short period, as the *Catholic Herald* of January 17, 1833, tells us, it had exchanged its name for the more sounding one of *United States Catholic Intelligencer,* but early in 1833 it had resumed its old name, *The Jesuit.*[2] Thomas J. O'Flaherty, a physician from Kerry, was raised to the priesthood in 1829. As editor of *The Jesuit* he translated Count Joseph De Maistre's book on the "Spanish Inquisition." It was published in book form with notes and additions. An occasional contributor to the Catholic Press was the Rev. Jeremiah O'Callaghan, whose strict ideas on the subject of usury had involved him with his bishop in Ireland. After preaching in Irish in the Cathedral of Boston in July, 1830, he proceeded to the Vermont missions to which he had been assigned, where he labored most zealously for many years, relieving the monotony of his severe duties in that mountain state with writing books against usury, pew-rents and other points of a similar nature.

Boston, March 17, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

By a letter just received from my good friend, Rev. Mr. Van de Velde, I am informed that my last to him was not received. In that letter I communicated to him what the price of printing was in Boston, in answer to your request. I regret that the letter miscarried, as it may have been the cause of delaying the publication of your excellent book on the Ceremonies, so long and so anxiously looked for, and so much wanted.

I have been speaking to a printer who tells me that he will print it, at the following rate:

For setting the type, he demands 30 cents per page, when the page is about 6 inches long and 3 1-2 wide.

For press work, 2 dollars for a thousand copies of 36 pages, that number of pages constituting a form.

Good paper will cost 3 dollars 25 cents per ream.

The binding of such a book in plain sheep will cost 8 dollars per hundred.

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[2] *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* vol. xxix, no. 4, p. 343.

These are the ordinary prices in Boston. It may be done cheaper, but I fear, not well.

I wrote to the Archbishop some time ago, respecting the Book Association as agreed upon in Council. I proposed to him a plan for carrying it into effect, but he seems, by his answer, to be averse to the whole and not at all willing to undertake it. Thus the whole seems to be doomed to be laid aside. I am sorry for it for religion's sake.

My book, the Catholic Repository, will be published toward the end of this year. It will be very large—hence the delay. It will contain 500 pages octavo. I would have published it long ago, but for fear of debt. I am now still waiting for the subscription list to be fixed.

I rejoice to hear of the progress religion is making in your diocese. Great are the exertions of the sectarians against you; but I trust with the blessing of God, you will triumph in spite of them. With us, things go on as fast as can be expected, considering the field I have to labor in. Calvinism has suffered much and can never have again the same influence it once possessed. What I chiefly want is priests—a number of good priests. I have now twenty churches and only thirteen priests and shall build two more this summer. It is some consolation, however, to me to have eight young men who will be ready for Orders next fall. I shall endeavor to build another church in Boston very soon. I only wish it may be half as beautiful as yours in St. Louis.

Adieu—take good care of your health and believe me ever to remain,

Yours sincerely,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

The Rev. Mr. Van de Velde mentioned in the foregoing letter was a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, who became successively Professor at the St. Louis College, Vice Provincial of the Missouri Province, President of the St. Louis University, Bishop of Chicago, and Bishop of Natchez. He died of yellow fever, November 13, 1855.

The 36th decree of the First Provincial Council of Baltimore had reference to such a Society for the dissemination of good books, but no further action was taken and no one appointed to carry out the plan. The Holy See had specially desired the establishment of such an Association. The Archbishop of Baltimore at this time was James Whitfield, who had succeeded Marechal on May 25, 1828.

The twenty churches were scattered over the five states of New England, two in Connecticut, two in Rhode Island, seven in Massachusetts, five in Maine, two in New Hampshire and two in Vermont. The majority of the thirteen priests were stationed in Massachusetts. In the following year the diocese numbered twenty-two priests.

Boston, April 24, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received last night your kind favor and hasten to reply to it. The Book of Ceremonies which you are so kind as to offer, I cheerfully accept and shall take all possible care to have it printed in a neat and correct manner, with all reasonable dispatch. There are two ways of forwarding the copy to me, viz: by the way of New Orleans by vessel, and by the regular letter mail. The first will be long, circuitous and safer of the two; but I think the latter (as few accidents happen) will be safe enough, if you will but take the precaution of having the copy put into as small a compass as possible, then carefully sealed, and afterwards delivered into the hands of the postmaster himself, with a request to have particular care taken of it on the route. I think then there will be but little danger of its arriving safely. This way is so much the more expeditious, and therefore desirable. The expense, it is true, is much greater; but I do not imagine, after all, it would amount to more than four or five dollars, and that would be as nothing in comparison to the advantages and satisfaction of having so useful a book printed as soon as possible. However, I shall leave that to your better judgment.

I have no objection whatever to the removal of the *Catholic Press* to St. Louis: on the contrary, I shall rejoice to see it made the instrument of propagating our holy faith in the Valley of the Mississippi. I have no doubt also but that it will do a great deal more good at St. Louis than at Hartford. In fact the Priest at Hartford has so much to do in missionary duty that he can hardly spart time to attend to more.

I admire very much the plan of your church, a copy of which has been kindly forwarded to me. I think it will be the handsomest church in the United States. I wish I had but the means of putting up a similar one in Boston. How proud I should then be! We shall notwithstanding attempt something this year, poor as we are. I have just bought the entire lot of ground, next to where I live, for a Seminary. It has already a very good house on it, 90 feet long by 26 feet broad, three stories high and capable of lodging fifty students, which has cost me eleven thousand five hundred dollars, two thousand five hundred of which I have paid, and have six years to pay the balance. *You must put in a good word for me with the Society de la Propagation in France, otherwise I know not how I shall be able to extricate myself.* It is well for me that I have so much courage. This enables me still to sleep soundly, spite of this new and great debt. The *Propagation* gave me last year a very small sum, indeed, but I rejoice that my name is still on their book. This is some comfort at least, since it inspires hope. I expect three Sisters of Charity here daily, for whom I have prepared a beautiful house—a palace when compared with mine. They will have 300 female children under their care. Thus we move along, advancing, though not very fast in consequence of our poverty, still we keep moving. I have a thousand

things yet to say to you, but find I am come to the end of my paper. I shall, however, write again soon. In the meantime, I remain, etc.

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

P. S. It is quite certain now that our famous Calvinist *Beecher* is about to leave Boston to try his luck in the Valley of the Mississippi. I hope you will render his time as unpleasant to him there, as we did last winter here. Our lectures have completely broken him up in this quarter.

Bishop Rosati had been requested by Fathers of the Council to compile a Book of Ceremonies, a work for which he was eminently fitted. *The Catholic Press* was the name of a weekly paper published in Hartford, Connecticut, before 1832. In the Letter-Book of Bishop Rosati I found, under date of May 19, 1832, the following entry: "Mr. Taylor leaves Hartford; *Catholic Press* will be published in St. Louis by July 1, 1832. Joseph and Deodat Taylor were converts to the Faith, and men of superior character and ability. If a paper by the name, "The Catholic Press," was really published by either one of the brothers Taylor, we have found no trace of it. Yet, there must have been a Catholic paper in St. Louis about this time, as Father John McMahon on his way to Galena writes to Bishop Rosati on August 27, 1832: "A Dialogue on the Real Presence, which passed between an intelligent passenger and myself on our way hither (i. e. Keokuk), may be somewhat entertaining to some of Mr. Taylor's readers. If you think so, I am determined to lend it to you; you will please hand it to him for insertion." Now what was the name of the Catholic St. Louis paper edited by Mr. Taylor? Most probably it was "The Shepherd of the Valley." It must be remembered, however, that there were two distinct "Shepherds of the Valley," the first being published during the administration of Bishop Rosati and edited by Joseph Taylor, the second in Bishop Kenrick's days, and edited by Robert A. Bakewell." [3]

"The handsomest church in the United States" is the encomium bestowed by Bishop Fenwick on the Old Cathedral of St. Louis. In its classic simplicity and majestic calm it is still one of the chief attractions of the city; the great monument of its first Bishop's love and undaunted desire.

The Society of the Propagation of the Faith, with headquarters in Lyons and Paris, which with its sister societies of Vienna in Austria and Munich in Bavaria, did so very much for almost all the much-harassed Bishops of our early days, is meant here.

The Roman Congregation of the Propaganda also gave substantial

[3] "A Sketch of Catholic Journalism in St. Louis" by Rev. John Rothensteiner.

aid, but not in the measure of the Associations we have mentioned. Bishop Fenwick's allusion to "our famous Calvinist, Beecher," refers to Lyman Beecher, a man of genius like two of his children, Henry Ward and Harriet, but as self-centered and fanatical a man as ever spat venom against the Pope. Furiously assailing the Catholic Church and influencing the public mind, he met a severe setback in the lectures the Bishop delivered during the winter of 1830-1831. The Cathedral was thronged with Protestants, who listened with deep interest to the clear logic and impassioned argument of the Catholic champion. Lyman Beecher withdrew from the field to make forays into less dangerous fields. But he was to return to the final charge which ended in the destruction of the Ursuline convent at Charleston in 1834.[4]

Boston, November 14, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I received your highly esteemed favor the day before yesterday. I need not express to you how delighted I was to hear from you after so long a silence, nor how very anxious your letter has made me for your health. The cholera has already deprived the Province of one of her most efficient Bishops in taking off my late highly esteemed and venerable cousin. I sincerely hope it will not include you among the number of its victims in its ravages through your diocese, for we are not yet in a situation to spare you. May God therefore preserve you yet among us for the good of His religion and of His growing Church, many years. On our part we cannot be too grateful to the Almighty for having been pleased to overlook this diocese in his general visitation. We have had comparatively but few cases in any part of it. In Boston itself we never had more than five per day, and this lasted but two weeks. At present we are entirely free from it.

I am quite rejoiced at the news you have given me of the generous offer of the Propaganda to educate two young men, whomsoever I may send, for the Diocese of Boston. I am aware of the immense advantage it will derive from having subjects who have received their education at the very fountain head and who will afterward be in a condition to impart the same to others on their return, and together with the purest doctrines, a true spirit of piety and religion. But at what age do they admit into the Propaganda? What degree of knowledge do they require previously in the student? Must they be thoroughly acquainted with the Latin? and must they have gone through a course of Philosophy? I will esteem it a great favor to receive information on these several heads, from you, as I am perfectly ignorant of the regulations of that college. There is also another point, which, though last, is not least, so far as it concerns me

[4] There is a good sketch of Lyman Beecher as well as of his celebrated son and daughter in Constance M. Rourke's *Trumpets of Jubilee.*

in my present state of poverty. I mean the expense of sending them. How much will that expense be? Will the Propaganda add to their liberality by defraying this too? I assure you it will be a great favor conferred if they will include me so far. In the purchase of a site for my Seminary, I have incurred a debt of *nine thousand dollars,* the interest of which I have yearly to pay, at the rate of six per cent. I have great hopes that the good Societé de la Propagation in France will aid me in paying off this debt. They were very good to me in their last distribution, and I have every reason to think they will continue to be so, this year also. As soon as I shall have rid myself of this one burden I shall have it more in my power to effect so desirable an object. Please to write to me as soon as possible on these several heads, and I also request the favor that you will not forget to put in a good word for me in your communications to the same society, lest they might forget me in my present necessities.

I have long desired to see the Book of Ceremonies. Has it appeared yet? And when shall we have some copies of it? Many young Priests look forward with great anxiety for its coming out.

I have seen with pleasure the accounts which have been given of your progress at St. Louis. Your new church will beat everything that has yet appeared in the United States. When will it be consecrated?

Please to accept my best wishes for your health and success in all your undertakings. With sentiments of respect and esteeem, I remain,

Yours,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

The Bishop's "late highly esteemed and venerable cousin" is Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati, a Dominican, the first Bishop of that see, who on a missionary journey to the northern confines of his vast diocese was struck down by the cholera at Sault Ste. Marie, but rallied sufficiently to continue his journey to Arbor Croche and Detroit. The dread disease, however, returned to the attack and the heroic Bishop died on the way home, at Wooster, Ohio, on September 26, 1832. His companion on the fatal journey was the Rev. Augustine Jeanjean, one of the early missionaries brought over from France by Bishop Du Bourg.

Boston, April 5, 1834.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I have just received your favor of the 5th ultimo with the enclosed Gregorian chant and directions. I have, you will perceive, delayed not very long in acknowledging the receipt of it; for, I do not wish to lie under the imputation of being lazy, when in fact, I am not so in reality. It is true, I may now and then let a letter lie over in expectation of getting something interesting to communicate, which I may not get after all, and afterwards feel ashamed of the disappointment.

The Book of Ceremonies I am driving on with all the speed imaginable since I received the manuscript. It will be out in June, and I think you will be well pleased with it; because, in fact, it is well done. But, do you know that I am deeply in debt for it, and that the expense has been considerable, all of which I have been obliged to advance. When shall I be able to get it back again? I have no knowledge how many copies each of the Bishops will take. I must write to them and have a definite answer. Would it not be good to begin with you, as I have the pen now in hand? You are undoubtedly aware that I have caused 1,000 copies of the entire book to be printed, besides 500 copies of the first part which I have bound apart for the use of the children, who serve about the altar. These are now ready for delivery. How many copies, therefore, of the entire work will you take for your diocese? And how many copies of the first part, which is bound separately? Another question I may propose, since I am about it (and which to me is a thousand times more important), when will it be convenient for you to pay for them? Now, let me see, if you will not be lazy in answering these questions.

With regard to the Ritual, I fear I shall be obliged to wait for some returns, at least of the sums I have already expended in the present work, before I begin it. The publication of the little Ritual, however, will be but a little affair. It is possible I may proceed with that without much delay.

The publication of the notes of the Gregorian, I think, will give me trouble, as there is no founding of any such notes here. However, I shall at all events be able to get them engraved apart. It may cost a little more; but not matter.

I shall set out in a week or two to consecrate a new church in New Haven, Con't, the stronghold of Calvanism, where their principal college is. We have already commenced a new one here in Boston, which will be an elegant brick one, and which I hope to finish completely by October. We do not build so elegantly as you do, but we shall proceed faster. The new one we are building also this year at Newport will be a credit to the cause. As soon as I shall have finished this one, now commenced in Boston, I shall instantly begin another in another part of the city; for we shall want two to keep pace with our numbers. Best respects to Jean-Jean.

With respect and esteem I remain,

Yr Obt Sert in Xt,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

The Church in New Haven, Connecticut, consecrated in honor of Christ the Lord, was then in charge of the Rev. James McDermott.[5]

Boston, Sept. 8, 1834.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

In spite of all our confusion I must inform you that I have shipped on board of a vessel going to New Orleans a box of books, the long

[5] Catholic Almanac for 1833.

expected Books of Ceremony, directed to the care of the Revd. Antoine Blanc, who is requested by me by letter to send it on to you without delay. Please drop him a line to refresh his memory. You will probably get it the sooner by it. The box contains 100 copies of the larger and 50 copies of the smaller. The price is $1 for each copy of the larger, and 18 3-4 cents for each copy of the smaller. You will be astonished, when you come to see the book, how I could sell them so cheap.

Our beautiful convent is destroyed by a mob! The Calvinists were jealous of our progress—they could not bear to see Catholics imparting a better female education than they could afford. Hence they were bent upon destroying us a long time part, and our beautiful institution, and took advantage of the favourable disposition of the time, to accomplish their nefarious purpose. But God will punish them at last.

Adieu. I will write you again as soon as I can.

Pray for me.

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

In elucidation of these few trembling words of sorrow and indignation we would give a condensed account of the main facts as taken from John Gilmary Shea's "History of the Catholic Church,"[6] and from Richard H. Clarke's "Lives of the Deceased Bishops."[7] The trouble arose from the conduct of a designing girl named Rebecca Reed, who had been received into the Church at Charleston (near Boston), and then, affecting great piety, applied to the Ursuline Nuns and was admitted for a six months' term as a probationer. Before the close of the term she abruptly left the Convent on the 18th day of January, 1832, and began to circulate stories against the ladies who had opened their house to her. Some unscrupulous enemies of the Catholic Church "improved the occasion" by concocting a book full of silly, slanderous stories from the outpourings of her perverted imagination, and published it under the title, "Six Months in a Convent." The book was condemned by the more intelligent people of Boston as a malicious publication but created a furore among the ignorant and vicious.[8] Whilst the excitement created by this incident and by the furious declamations of Lyman Beecher was gradually abating another unfortunate incident made the fire of hatred flame up anew. One of the Sisters, holding a high position in the institu-

[6] John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. iii, ch. 3, passim.

[7] Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States,* vol. I, pp. 13-31.

[8] The Lady Superior of the Convent in 1835 published, *Answer to Six Months In a Convent.*

tion, being prostrated by the heat and overwork, became delirious and ran from the convent to the house of a neighbor whose daughters had been her pupils. She was prevailed upon to return to the convent, and, under medical treatment, soon recovered her normal condition. She was deeply afflicted on learning what she had done. But the rumor had gone abroad, that the Sister was detained by force. "Down with the Convent! Down with the nuns!" was the infuriated cry of the mob. Meetings were held in the school house at Charlestown to organize the work of destruction. In the dead of night the mob stormed the convent. Barrels of tar and casks of whiskey had been brought along in carts, the one to fire the buildings, the other to cheer on the incendiaries. The blaze drew the firemen of Charlestown to the scene, only to retire and leave the convent to the mercy of the mob. The Sisters and the pupils fled by the light of their former home and found refuge with kindly neighbors. The mob did not even spare the graves of the dead. It seemed altogether incredible that such a heinous act could have been perpetrated and yet, there stood the blackened ruins and more than a hundred witnesses bore testimony to the main facts of the awful tragedy. As the news spread, Catholic laborers employed on the railroads came pouring into Boston, bent on avenging the insult, but Bishop Fenwick sent his clergy to dissuade them from any attempt at retaliation. Justice should have its way, force could only do harm and most harm to his own people. The authorities made some show of prosecuting the offenders. A number of them were arrested, tried and acquitted on the most flimsy pleas. Only one was sentenced to imprisonment for life, but was soon after pardoned.

Thus iniquity prevailed in Boston in this year of grace, 1834; the Boston of today is predominantly Catholic and harbors a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church.

Boston, February 22, 1835.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

The bearer (Mr. Dyer) is one of our most respectable Catholics and a convert to our Church. He is a truly worthy and exemplary man. His object in visiting St. Louis is to see whether that city be favorable to his branch of business, the business of an Apothecary, and more so than the City of Boston. If he find upon examination that to be the case, his intention is to remove his family at once and take up his residence in your town where he knows he will enjoy many other privileges connected with religion and the education of his children which he cannot realize here. I recommend him, Rt. Rev. Sir, to your particular kindness and beg that you will introduce him to those in St. Louis who are best calculated to give him the information he desires.

The very Rev. Mr. Blanc had already acquainted me with the loss of the books I intended for you by the sinking of the steamboat which had them on board. This is a serious loss to me; but I shall make another attempt to send you the same number precisely, viz: 100 copies of the large and 50 copies of the small volumes. The first are sold at $1 per copy and the second at 18 3-4 cents, so that the bill I shall ultimately have against you will amount to $109.37 1-2 cents. This money you can send me, if perfectly convenient to yourself, by Mr. Dyer, who will return without much delay. If so, you will be the second Bishop who will have paid me. As the matter now stands Bp. Kenrick alone has as yet made a remittance. All the others seem to hang off, waiting probably, for an opportunity. Rev. Mr. Blanc writes me that to prevent delay he would send you some of the books of ceremonies, which I had intended for New Orleans. I shall be glad to know how many copies of his you will have received, that I may supply the deficiency.

I shall say nothing of the state of things here as Mr. Dyer can give you every information on that head. Wishing you every happiness, I remain with great respect,

Yrs. in Xt.,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

The Rev. Mr. Blanc mentioned above is the excellent prelate who was soon to succeed Bishop Leo Neckere as Bishop and finally become Archbishop of New Orleans. The "Bishop Kenrick" is Francis Patrick of Baltimore.

Boston, May 5, 1836.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

I had been left almost an entire century without any tidings of you when your last letter reached me a few days ago. I was rejoiced to see by it how well things are getting on in the great valley notwithstanding the great exertions of the Devil and his co-operators to check its progress. Thank God, New Orleans is now well supplied. This will give a new impulse to religion in that quarter; but I am sorry to see its first pastor so soon under the necessity of repairing to Europe for the purpose of obtaining auxiliaries. His absence, I fear, will be greatly felt. However, he undoubtedly knows better than any one the importance of such a journey.

I have directed another box of books to be forwarded to New Orleans for you. I hope this will fare better than the last, and that I shall not be under the necessity of making a third shipment. The printing of this book of ceremonies has proved a bad speculation for me, as only yourself, the good Bishop of New Orleans and Bishop Kenrick have indemnified me as yet; all the other Bps. still hold back, although each of them has had a box of them sent to them, except Bp. Resé. Perhaps the returns will come yet; if not I cannot help it, and must only submit to my fate. The want of an index is to be ascribed solely to my having been absent from Boston, when the printer had finished the manuscript. So that when I came home I

found it already bound and accordingly could only regret what I could not repair.

Religion begins to lift her head again in this diocese. Things are getting along exceedingly well. I see no immediate prospect of rebuilding the convent. Nor would I, so long as present feelings exist, attempt it, even had I the means. However, in all other respects, Catholicity is progressive, and is rapidly gaining ground, both in Boston and out of it. My new church is just completed. It is a splendid building. I shall consecrate it the Sunday within the Octave. of the Ascension. My Seminary is also finished and under operation. Another new church in Boston will be completed by the first of next October. So much for Boston itself. Out of Boston I have four new churches under way which I hope to see finished by the fall. So rapid is the increase of Catholics in all parts of the Diocese that I find new congregations rising up where two years ago I little expected anything. Witness Augusta, the capital of Maine. When I passed through it two years ago, it did not number five Catholics, whereas now it contains as many hundreds. I have bought a Unitarian church there, nearly new, for one half of the price for which it was built. This was extremely apropos. But in the midst of all these fair prospects I labor under one disadvantage which, I fear, is common to all my Brothers, that of not having a sufficiency of able and pious clergymen to carry on the work. Had I only these, infinitely more might be accomplished. Patience!

My good nuns are all still at Quebec. It gives me pain to think that three of them are not satisfied there, in consequence of the language of the country which they are unable to learn, and desire very much to be removed. In consequence of their dissatisfaction the good Ladies of the Convent have become equally anxious for their departure. In this state of things I do not know what to do. I have no place for them, and if I had, it would not do to bring them here now, by any means, nor to station them in any part of the diocese—it would be only exposing them to fresh insults. What am I to do? And what would you recommend under such circumstances?

No Co-adjutor yet appointed for New York. I am getting every day more and more uneasy by this delay. The good Bishop there is very old, though in good health as yet. But I entertain great fears it will not last long. As that diocese is my neighbour, I feel much interested in its affairs. It is exceedingly important for religion, that such a diocese should have some one to succeed the present good Bp., who is in every respect well calculated. You at the far west are so much taken up with your own affairs that you don't think of this. Yet, the diocese of New York holds, as it were, the fate of religion in great measure in its hand in this country. Its importance is exceedingly great. Adieu.

Respectfully yours in Xt.,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

The cause of Bishop Fenwick's rejoicing at the fact that New Orleans was at last well supplied refers to the appointment of An-

thony Blanc as its Bishop. He had been administrator of the diocese since the death of Bishop De Neckere, September 4, 1833, but for a long time refused to accept the burden of the episcopacy. He was consecrated on November 22, 1835, by Bishop Rosati, assisted by Bishop Purcell and Portier. On July 19, 1850, New Orleans was made an archiepiscopal see with Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock and Galveston as suffragans. Archbishop Blanc died June 20, 1860.

As to rebuilding the Convent of the Ursulines, the good Bishop was rather diffident. The blackened ruins on Mount St. Benedict served as a constant reproach to the bigots of Boston. The nuns were in Canada. But in July, 1838, he secured a house for them in Boston, and on August 29th two of the Sisters arrived from Canada. Other Sisters soon arrived. The Bishop appointed Mother Benedict, Superior. School was opened but was not well attended. After a struggle of two years the nuns lost heart and returned to Canada.

The new church just completed was St. Mary's, in Pond Street. It was seriously injured by fire in January, 1839.

The Bishop's uneasiness about a coadjutor to Bishop Dubois of New York was relieved in a most agreeable manner by the appointment in 1837 of the great American prelate, John Hughes.

Convent of the Visitation,

Geo-town, Dist. col.,
June 10, 1836.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

It will probably surprise you a little to find this letter addressed to you from Georgetown, instead of Boston; but your surprise will cease when I inform you that I am here with the Archbishop upon a very important business. This business, so far as I am concerned in it, is to endeavor to obtain from the mother institution a small colony of nuns to supply the place of the absent Ursulines. I need not tell you how much we are in want of the inmates of such a house, situated as we are now in Boston, where the higher classes of Catholics are obliged either to send their children out of the State for education, or confide them to the care of Protestants to the great danger of their souls. The good mother of this house was upon the point of supplying me with a few of her members, when your letter arrived informing her of the state of things at Kaskaskia and requesting her to allow you an additional number of subjects for that institution. Now, I would beg to remonstrate a little against this, as her granting the supply asked for would prevent her from being able to supply me, which, in the present instance, is certainly more important, as it is a question of a new foundation which, I trust, will be highly favorable to the progress of religion. Surely nine members ought to suffice for you, at least for the present? besides, is it not far more proper that the Visitandines should elect one of themselves at their superior,

than to have recourse to the motherhouse at a time of all others when efficient members are most required either at home in keeping up the reputation of it, or abroad in the formation of a new colony? I do hope, therefore, that you will not be too pressing in this matter. I understand that a new election has taken place among the good religious of Kaskaskia, and that they have chosen Sister Cecilia of this place to be their superior. It certainly would have been more proper, in my mind, had they confined their choice to one of themselves. As it is, I do not think, she (Sister Cecilia) can at all be spared from this house without material injury to it. You must not imagine, however, that in other circumstances and in other times I should be opposed to one community aiding another's when the good of religion, too, requires it; but at present such a measure would materially affect the success of my little enterprise, as I do not conceive it possible that this community could, at present, spare a superior and other efficient members to the establishment of Kaskaskia in addition to those already granted from this house, and at the same time aid me, which I think, more important. I do hope, therefore, you will get your good religious to reconsider the matter and not urge any longer what they have required.

With sentiments of great respect and consideration, I remain,

Yr. Br. in Xt.,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

P. S. I regret to hear that the good Bishop of New Orleans has embarked from New Orleans instead of New York as he first proposed, as it will deprive me of the possibility of seeing him on his way.

† B., Bp. Bn.

Boston, August 9, 1836.

Rt. Rev. and Dr. Sir:

The bearer, Mrs. Mary Ann Hoper, is about to leave this, with her sister and brother, for St. Louis. I am not personally acquainted with her; but she has been within a few days particularly recommended to me as a worthy and respectable lady, who during her abode in Boston has always manifested a deep interest for the welfare of the orphans under the care of the Sisters of Charity. She has few or no acquaintances in the country to which she is about to repair. Accordingly, I cannot forbear making you acquainted with her, sensible that you will be pleased with the introduction of a person of so benevolent a disposition.

With sentiments of great respect and consideration, I remain,

Yrs. in Xt.,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

Boston, April 3, 1837.

Rt. Revd. Dr. Sir:

It appears that Mr. Dyer, to whom I formerly gave a letter of introduction to you, has finally concluded to locate in St. Louis, whither he purposes to remove his family as soon as he can make the necessary arrangements. All whom he leaves behind him regret his departure, and no one more than myself; for, he has been very service-

able to us during the building of our new church. I cannot let him depart without recommending him anew to you as a very worthy and upright man and one who will be an acquisition to the Parish of St. Louis.

Respectfully,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

Boston, November 6, 1837.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

So, it seems the persecuting spirit that prevails here is driving all our best Catholics to your Missouri! Well be it so. It is a bad wind that does not benefit some one.

The bearer is Mr. Thomas Mooney, the son of our worthy Sexton, whom you may have seen in Boston. He is a prudent, discreet and industrious young man and a good Catholic, a cabinetmaker by trade and a good workman. It will be a pity, that with these qualifications, he will not be able to get along in your city. But I hope that will not be the fact. I am aware you will do everything in your power to promote his temporal as well as spiritual welfare. Every confidence can be reposed in him, and therefore I recommend him to your kind protection. He is a married man, but leaves his wife in the care of his Father till he has realized the means of bringing her on.

Respectfully,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

Boston, July 31, 1839.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

Your kind favor came to hand a few days ago. What you announced to me as likely to happen has indeed taken place. The worthy — the excellent Bishop of Vincennes is no more! I had received a letter from him but a few weeks previous to this melancholy event; and little did I think at the time that we should so soon lose him. But he was ripe for heaven and God wished not to delay his reward. It has been announced some time in our public prints, that his Coadjutor, with yours, has been sanctioned by Rome; with what truth I am yet unable to say. But it is very probable the account is correct enough. No doubt by this time you have received the official news. The appointment, at least, for Vincennes, could not have happened more opportunely. I sincerely hope he is one who is every way calculated to carry on the great and good work so auspiciously begun.

It is true the Rev. Constantine Lee has been several years employed in my diocese. He is a man of considerable talents as a preacher and would do well in any mission, if he were only to have a little more prudence in what regards himself. Candor compels me to say that he is unfortunately too apt to indulge in drink. But for this failing he would do well. A good retreat, to begin with, and a solemn promise on his part never to drink anything stronger than water might reclaim him—but nothing short of this can. You are aware, I presume, that he was educated at Rome, and consequently

has enjoyed the superior advantage of having been, at least, well brought up.

The Gregorian music book, which you request me to forward to Mr. Dinnies, is no more. I have in all, but four copies remaining, out of 1,000 which I had sent to the bookbinder. All have been consumed in a fire, which destroyed not only my printed copies but also my plates. Thus have I incurred a loss of about $600. Am I not very fortunate in my undertakings?

But my Catholic Settlement succeeds beyond my expectations. Not only have Catholics settled on my own land, but have begun already to extend themselves on the State's lands adjacent. It is just as I wished and as I anticipated. We shall soon have a thriving colony of several thousand without any mixture of Protestants. I am now erecting a Seminary and College, which I hope will one day afford an ample supply of native clergymen for the wants of the diocese, in the centre of the township; and have allotted for its support 500 acres of the first rate land, together with the proceeds of a sawmill and gristmill.

All is now peace with us. The Yankees are both tired and ashamed of what they have done, and a little later I do not despair of complete indemnification.

We have now three beautiful churches in Boston all in a line—North, middle, which is the Cathedral, and South—not counting either the church in Charlestown or that in South Boston, and all these churches are crowded to suffocation. I still want one more to contain the Catholics. We have lately had some distinguished converts from the higher classes of society and hope for more.

Adieu and believe me ever to remain,

Yours In Cht.,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

Bishop Simon William Brute of Vincennes closed his saintly life at Vincennes on June 26, 1839, at the age of sixty years. "Rare piety of life," says Father Garraghan, "and a very exceptional range of learning, secular as well as sacred, were among the traits that lent distinction to the personality of Bishop Brute."[9] The archives of the Archdiocese and Chancery of St. Louis preserve a considerable body of his correspondence with Bishop Rosati.

Early in 1839 Bishop Rosati had petitioned Rome for a coadjutor with the first choice of Father John Timon, his brother Lazarist, and had obtained his wish. But Father Timon absolutely refused to accept. Later on Peter Richard Kenrick, Vicar General of Philadelphia, received the appointment. The coadjutor for Vincennes, Celestian Rene Lawrence De La Hailandiere, was in Europe at the time of Bishop Brute's death. He was consecrated at Paris by Bishop Forbier Janson, August 18, 1839. Of the unfortunate Constantine

[9] Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., in Illinois Catholic Historical Review.

Lee's brief stay in the diocese of St. Louis an account is given in the October, 1920, number of the Illinois Catholic Historical Review, Vol. III, pp. 139-142.

"One of Bishop Fenwick's plans was to secure a large tract of land and open it to Catholics in hopes of drawing many from the temptations of the cities and enabling them to secure comparative independence as farmers. Maine seemed to him to offer the greatest advantages, and he was on the alert to secure a township for this purpose. He advertised in 1833 for persons willing to take up land, at not more than a dollar and a half an acre. He finally secured township No. 2, Fifth Range, sixty-nine miles from Bangor, and made the attempt at Catholic colonization in July, 1834.[10]

Boston, September 13, 1839.

Rt. Rev. Dear Sir:

This will be handed to your Lordship by S. D. Mackintosh, Esq., former editor of the Sandwish Island *Gazette*. His object in going to St. Louis is to establish a paper; and if he display the ability and conduct it as well as he did the *Gazette* at Honolulu he will deserve the patronage and support of every Catholic in the United States.

Your Lordship may have heard of the Rev. M. Bachelot and other Catholic missionaries, who went out and settled in Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands,—and how they were persecuted and finally driven away by the Calvinistic missionaries there established. The bearer of this letter, though a Protestant, was the indivdual who undertook their defence in his paper and ably vindicated their cause at the risk of drawing upon himself the vengeance of these fanaticks, and altho' he did not in the long run succeed in keeping them in the Island, owing to the very great influence which the Calvinists possessed over the minds of the Chiefs, yet, he had inflicted a blow upon them from which it will be difficult for them to recover. For these, his exertions in behalf of oppressed innocence, able and disinterested as they have been, he deserves the gratitude of Catholics wherever they may be found. I therefore flatter myself that he will be welcomed to St. Louis by them in general, and by your Lordship in particular.

Earnestly recommending him to your Lordship's kind protection, I remain, with sentiments of respect and esteem,

Your Lordship's Br. in Xt.,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

It is a far cry from Bangor, Maine, to Oahu, one of the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands; yet the story of both New England and those far off islands in the Pacific was the same old story of Protestant oppression and Catholic patience and final victory. We quote from the Catholic Encyclopedia, "The first Catholic priests arrived at Honolulu on July 9, 1827. They were, the Rev. Alexis Bachelot, Prefect

[10] Cf. Shea, l. c.

Apostolic, the Rev. Abraham Armand and the Rev. Patrick Short. All these were members of the Society of Picpus. They had been sent by Pope Leo XII. Protestant missionaries had arrived from New England as early as 1820 and had gained the king and chiefs over to their cause. As soon as the priests began to make converts a fierce persecution was raised against the natives who became Catholics. They were ill-treated, imprisoned, tortured, and forced to go to the Protestant Churches, and the priests were banished. Father Bachelot and Short were taken to a solitary spot in lower California. In 1836 the Rev. Robert Walsh, an Irish priest of the same congregation, arrived and remained in the islands in spite of the ill-will of the Protestant party. In 1837 Father Bachelot and Short returned from California, but were obliged to leave again. Father Bachelot died at sea on December 15, 1837. In 1839 the French Government sent a frigate to put an end to the persecution.[11]

Boston, December 10, 1839.

Rt. Revd. Dr. Sir:

Since my last communication I have concluded to undertake the publication of another book of Sacred Music; and what is more, I have actually commenced it. The first proof sheets will be presented to me tomorrow. The work will be stereotyped; and I intend it shall be one which will be found extensively useful. Never was there a book more wanted, in this country, from Maine to New Orleans; and from the Atlantic to the Rocky Mountains. The high price paid for imported music will forever operate as an exclusion, or render the circulation of it confined and limited. The choirs of Cathedral churches, such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and St. Louis may be able to import and find means to pay high prices for sacred busic; but our country churches which are spreading in every direction over the land, how are they to procure music? How have they procured it hitherto? A worn out book or a fragment here and a fragment there, is all that village and country choirs have ever been able to possess. Nevertheless how important it is that our churches should have good music? how important that our youth should be trained to sing the Praises of God! And how can they be ever trained without books? and how can they procure books unless they be sold cheap? I have, therefore, at my own risk, undertaken to supply this deficiency, at least, in my own diocese; and am about to publish a beautiful volume of Sacred Music, of the size of 7 inches by 10, and which shall contain as many pages as will be found necessary to embody the whole service of the Church, both in the forenoon and afternoon. And do you imagine that such a book will be found useful in every diocese? I intend to distribute the pieces in it thus, dividing the work into two parts:

[11] Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia, article "Sandwich Islands."

The first part shall contain four litanies, the Asperges and the Vidi Aquam in Gregorian, and another Asperges in Music; three Masses, viz: two in music and one in Gregorian; also, the service for the dead. The Psalms for the Sunday and all the festivals of the year, with two modes of singing them, the one ordinary and the other solemn; the hymns for all the Sundays and festivals, also in Gregorian, the same also in English Music, the Borate in Gregorian; the Te deum, Parce Domine, Lauda Sion, all in Gregorian; the anthems of the B. V. Salve Regina, Ave Regina, Almo Redemp. and Regina Coeli, also in Gregorian, as well as in Music. The Tantum Ergo in various ways, the Lamentations—Gloria Laus et Honor, Popule meus quid feci tibi, etc., Agios, o Theos, etc., all in Gregorian. I say nothing of Stabat Mater—Vexilla Regis, Sacris Solemniis, etc., etc., all of which will be in Gregorian. When I say Gregorian I mean Gregorian Music transposed from the 4 line to the 5 line music to make it intelligible to the organists of this country. All this music will be arranged for the organ accompaniment with soprano and tenor.

The second part will contain an infinite variety of Hymns, Canticles, Motets, and all beautifully arranged in several parts, set to various tunes by the first masters. The whole work will not be too thick to be bound together; but the two parts can be sold separately, if desired. The first part will, in fact, contain all that is essential in choirs; but for the sake of variety of aims, and a more beautiful arrangement the two should go together.

Now, what do you think of this? Will you help me in the undertaking by subscribing largely? Surely your churches will want a good many copies. But, the price, you will ask. It is probable that the whole work will not, in the two parts, exceed 200 pages; that is allowing 100 pages for each part. Would one dollar per 100 pages be too much? You may depend upon the paper being good, the type beautiful and clear, and upon a faithful execution of the work. Nor will superior or better arranged music be anywhere found. It will be superintended by a first rate musician.

How is your health? Write me soon and let me know what I am to expect. With sincere regard, Yours in Xt.,

† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

P. S. The first part of the work will be ready for delivery by the middle of February, and the second part in two months after.

Another. You are aware that the first book I published some years ago was destroyed by fire with all the copies.

Boston, January 22, 1840.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Sir:

Your kind letter has just come to hand. I am sorry my book will, in no manner, suit the latitude of St. Louis, although I have endeavored to gregorianize it, as much as possible, according to those books, at least, which were in my possession. To alter it now, is impossible, as it is more than half done, and the entire has been contracted for.

I did not know, before the receipt of your letter, how the choirs of St. Louis were constituted. Nor did I know that you had introduced the Roman chant in all its purity. If you have succeeded in this, you are undoubtedly the only Bishop in the United States that could succeed in it. Your population were in great measure French and prepared for it by having been all their life accustomed to the Gregorian music. Your clergy, too, have probably for the greater part, a knowledge of it, and were able to form choirs in the different churches. But to attempt to introduce it all over the United States, in which the greater part of the congregations consist of Americans or Irish, who know as much about music of any kind, as they do about Greek, and the greater part of the clergy, too, have neither voices nor ears for music, would be to attempt an impossibility. Without going into the country parts of each diocese, let me instance the three principal cities and Cathedral churches of these United States, viz: Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. In none of these have the Bishops at any period been able to introduce the Gregorian chant, however much they desired it. And the reason is, they not the clergy requisite to carry the measure through. How were the people disposed to favour such a change on a sudden? Abp. Maréchal had all his life time been accustomed to the Gregorian chant—he had, besides, the entire French Seminary to back him in the enterprise, had he undertaken the task of introducing it into his Cathedral. But he saw the impossibility with such a population as Baltimore consisted of, of succeeding, and abandoned it. Now, if such be the state of things in these principal churches, what cannot be said of the country and the village churches? What chance would there be of introducing it there? But let me confine myself to the state of things in my own diocese, and you will be the better judge. I have thirty churches and twenty-eight priests. Of these thirty churches only one half have voices, or can tell one tone from another. The consequence, hitherto, has been, that low Masses only could be said in the far greater part of the churches on Sunday, without a single hymn or even canticle being sung to enliven the divine service, while the Protestants, in their churches, all around had their choirs and their sacred hymns sung in pretty good style.

Now, how could I remain an indifferent spectator of this state of things without making an effort to apply, at least, some remedy? To introduce the Gregorian music entirely and on a sudden among them I knew to be impossible. There was nobody to teach it—not even the priests knew it. I knew, moreover, that I could not procure books, and if I should procure them, they would be unintelligible to to the American musician, who only know the 5 line music. What then was to be done? I saw, with the population I have to deal with, that nothing could be done with any probability of success, but what I am now doing, I shall soon have a book which will be perfectly intelligible to all musicians and from which the poor and uninformed can learn. The Masses in it are plain and beautiful and easily learned. The Vespers are equally so. The book will contain the whole service for the year with all the hymns for the Sundays and

principal Feasts, with a great variety of other hymns, Mottets, canticles and anthems, which can be sung by the children at Catechism classes, as well as at Divine Service. In fine, the music in it will be found partly Gregorian and partly of the other kind, but all selected and arranged by the best masters. It is likewise solemn and well adapted to Church music. I am sorry you cannot encourage it for any part of your diocese. I am persuaded it will do good, and an immense good somewhere, both in and out of my diocese. At all events, it will be better to have it than to be without any Church music at all, which is the case in the three hundred out of the 454 churches in the United States.

With best wishes I remain,

Your Br. in Xt.,
† Benedict, Bp. Bn.

This exposition of Bishop Fenwick's ideas of Church music is endorsed in Bishop Rosati's handwriting, 1840, January 22nd. Bishop Fenwick, Boston, "resp. non indiget."

The great Bishop of St. Louis was then busily engaged in the preparation for the journey to Baltimore and his visit to Rome. After consecrating his coadjutor, Peter Richard Kenrick, in Baltimore, he started once more for Rome. He was never again to see his episcopal city as he died in Rome on September 25, 1843. Bishop Fenwick was to outlive him by three years, expiring the 11th of August, 1846. His last words were, "In Te, Domine, speravi; non confundas in aeternum."

Rev. John Rothensteiner.

St. Louis, Mo.

EDITORIAL COMMENT

The First Ten Years.—The ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW is approaching its tenth birthday. It was established at the almost most critical period of the World War. In spite of the war, the State of Illinois was celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union, and it was felt that it was imperative to be represented in the literature of the centennial period. It may sound unkind to state that the Catholic part in the history of the State and region did not seem to be valued at its fair worth, and after many efforts to modify existing conditions it was decided by those interested in the matter that if we desired proper representation we must ourselves provide means of securing it.

Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, S. J., was a member of the centennial celebration commission, appointed by the Governor and was accordingly well informed of the situation. Mainly through his efforts the Catholic historical movement was launched, and after due consideration and authorization the Illinois Catholic Historical Society was legally organized early in 1918, the initial meeting being held on February 28th of that year.

The very first activity provided for by action of the society was the publication of a quarterly magazine to be known as the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. It was proposed to publish the first number in May, but the task was found too great and the date of the first quarterly number issued was July 1, 1918.

Cardinal Mundelein, Bishop Hoban and many distinguished churchmen endorsed enthusiastically the movement and lent moral and financial support. None, however, underestimated the difficulty connected with the establishment of a necessarily expensive magazine, and all were prepared, mentally at least, for a time of trial. It was well known that ventures of this kind had met with serious difficulties and that few, if any, ever survived a period of ten years. Splendid historical publications had been published, but so far as we have been able to learn not one had been able to weather the storm for a period as long as has the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW.

It is most gratifying that, nearing our tenth anniversary as we are, the magazine is in a very flourishing condition. The clergy, the religious and the lay-people who have become acquainted with the magazine are loud in its praise. Not a single number, during all of the more than nine years it has been published, but has been praised orally and by many written communications from all parts of the State and country.

It is gratifying to be able to state that the magazine goes to practically every public library in the United States. It is called an ornament in the libraries of the Catholic universities, colleges and schools. It is read in council by the religious orders, and in many institutions of learning is practically made a textbook. Indeed, without boasting, we are free to say that many expressions have reached us to the effect that it is the best historical magazine ever published in the United States.

All this, of course, makes us happy, but there is in our song of appreciation one sad note. We haven't enough readers. This is not a play or a plea for financial support. We really could now publish and distribute the magazine free

in certain quantities due to our splendid advertising patronage. The best and biggest business men in the country use advertising space in our magazine, but it would be a bad policy from many standpoints, the mention of which is not necessary, to attempt free publication. We have, however, reduced the subscription price materially and subscribers and friends of the movement have been advised of this reduction in recognition of the near approach of our tenth anniversary.

Why can't we secure more readers?

We know how completely occupied nearly every one is who could be asked to do something to enlarge the subscription list of the REVIEW. Practically every one in that class has labors and troubles enough of his own, but it is the busy people that do things.

Once more we ask, in the first place, the pastors to help us secure more readers. If each pastor would speak to some one in his congregation and ask that two, or three, or five subscriptions be sent in from the parish, it would add tellingly to the number of readers. So with the present subscribers. If each would make a slight effort, two, or three, or a half dozen new subscribers might easily be obtained.

We ask that kind of help. We want to increase the number of our readers to at least ten thousand for our tenth anniversary. Help us.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

The leading article in the *Michigan History Magazine* for July, 1927, Vol. XI, No. 3, is "An Historic Michigan Road," by Carl E. Pray. This road is the Chicago Road, the paved highway from Detroit to Chicago, and we are told that its inception was due to Father Gabriel Richard of Detroit, to whom "is due the introduction of a bill in Congress authorizing a survey of a road from Detroit to Chicago and the appropriation of money to begin the work. Father Richard was Territorial delegate from Michigan Territory, a man of great activity and power of leadership and greatly devoted to the interests of the Territory. His bill came to a hearing before the House of Representatives, January 28, 2825. The Debates of Congress report only a summary of his speech on that occasion but show that he knew thoroughly well what he was taking about. He urges the importance of the road both from a military point of view and as to its necessity in the matter of settlement. He says that the Grand Canal (meaning the Erie Canal) will be finished the next July and that then 'We consider Detroit in contact with New York.' He says that there is already a ship with a movable keel on the lakes ready to go all the way to New York. He reminds Congress that during the War of 1812 the government had suffered a loss of ten or twelve million dollars because there had been no road across the Black Swamp (Northeastern Ohio, across which the government had tried to transport supplies to the armies only to have them sunk in the mud) and that the same sort of thing might happen again if it were necessary to get supplies to Chicago, Green Bay in Wisconsin and Prairie Du Chien. He argues that the road will cost the government less than nothing because of the greatly increased value of the land caused by the fact of there being a road through it. He says families are already coming to Detroit who wish to get into the interior but cannot because there is no road. He states that there are now ten surveyors in the region, the land will soon be thrown open for settlement but will not sell without a road. He asked for the modest sum of fifteen hundred dollars but Congress gave him three thousand instead, to make the survey."

The Missouri Historical Review for July, 1927, Vol. XXI, No. 4, contains an interesting article by Father John E. Rothensteiner, who is well known to all our readers. Father Rothensteiner's article, en-

titled, "The Missouri Priest One Hundred Year Ago," tells briefly the story of Bishop William Louis Du Bourg, the first bishop of St. Louis. Bishop Du Bourg, in a letter written January 18, 1818, gave this picture of early St. Louis: "Here I am in St. Louis, and it is no dream. The dream would be most delightful, but the reality is even more so. I visited several parishes, en route. Everywhere the people came in crowds to meet us, showing me the most sincere affection and respect. My house is not magnificent, but it will be comfortable when they have made some necessary repairs. I will have a parlor, a sleeping room, a very nice study, besides a dining room, and four rooms for the ecclesiastics, and an immense garden. My cathedral, which looks like a poor stable, is falling in ruins, so that a new church is an absolute necessity. It will be one hundred and fifty feet long by seventy wide, but its construction will take time, especially in a country where everything is just beginning. The country, the most beautiful in the world, is healthy and fertile, and emigrants pour in. But everything is very dear."

The National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin for August, 1927, contains a report by Rev. George M. Nell, of the work of the "Parish Activities Service," of Effingham, Ill., which was organized seven years ago.

This movement in its few short years of existence has accomplished great things in the development of social and recreational parish activities and the parish life of many churches has been revolutionized by its aid.

Father Nell lists the following features which are already a part of the Parish Activities Service:

1. It has gathered ideas and plans successfully used by parishes, and has issued this material in two series of Parish Activities Information Booklets, covering thirty-eight distinct parish activities.
2. Has issued a Parish Activities Study Club Program, supplied with the proper study material.
3. Has organized a free Co-op Loan Service for members covering:
   (a) Parish Amateur Dramatics.
   (b) Slides illustrating the catechism and bible history.
   (c) Cartoons illustrating parish publicity material such as parish bulletins, dodgers, newspaper advertising, letters, post cards, etc.
4. Has developed a Co-op. Buying Service for members, covering movie, slide and opaque projectors, plays from the leading pub-

lishers, printer's cuts, glass and film strip slides, rebuilt office equipment, etc.

5. Has arranged a Co-op. Film Rental Service.

6. Maintains a Personal Letter Information Service answering questions on parish activities.

7. Offers a Co-op. Printing Service, supplying printed material which can be used in identical form by many parishes, giving a quantity price on even a few copies.

8. Publishes a looseleaf bulletin for members, giving suggestions for special parish activities such as bazars, ground-breaking celebrations, corner stone laying, dedication ceremonies, jubilee celebrations, farewells to pastor or assistant, welcomes to pastor or assistant, socials, picnics, sings, minstrels, plays and operettas, debates and mock trials and any other programs you may have.

The fee for this service is $10 per year, entitling the parish to use all the services offered. Recently a member saved over $100 on one Co-op. purchase. At present a number of members are saving from $75 to $150 on Co-op. Film Bookings alone, while the users of the 1,129 religious slides, of the cartoons, and of the Dramatic Service are finding these enot only a big convenience, but also a worthwhile financial saving.

The Abbey Chronicle of St. Benedict, Louisiana, in the following sketch, breathes the romance in the history of one of our southern dioceses:

"More than one hundred and seventy years have elapsed since that tragic day on which the Acadians were rudely torn from their rugged but happy homes in Nova Scotia. On the 10th of September, 1755, they were thrown on government vessels and left in the hands of fate. But fate is God's Providence. From the cold lakes of the north they drifted into the genial warm streams of southern Louisiana. Entering the picturesque Teche and Vermillion bayous they founded their homes on the wooded banks of those beautiful streams.

The story of their wanderings is a sad story but it has its consoling side. It is the story of religious faith, of a faith more rugged than were the rugged surroundings of their northern homes. God blessed the Acadians. There was peace and plenty in all the country of Evangeline.

To the present day they have kept the faith of their fathers, and in 1918 the descendants of that heroic people rejoiced in seeing the Acadian settlements on the shores of the Vermillion, Teche, and Atchafalaya united into one Acadian diocese, the diocese of Lafayette. The faith, love and peace which characterized the Acadians of old still prevail in the present generation. More than this, God has been pleased to reward the fidelity of the Acadians by giving them a

bishop who was chosen from their midst and who himself is a descendant of the saintly people who preferred to give life and all rather than renounce their faith.

The Right Reverend Jules Benjamin Jeanmard is the first Acadian Bishop of the first Acadian diocese in the history of the Church. Thanks to his zeal, some sixty-seven priests and thirty religious are laboring in the Acadian portion of the vineyard of Christ, while nine seminarians are studying philosophy and theology in this country and Europe, and the writer of these lines is one of the eighteen diocesan boys at St. Joseph's Seminary, St. Benedict, La.

So the faith of Evangeline and her people will still wax strong in the land of Acadia. Sooner will the Teche lose its waters than that the diocese of Acadia will lose the faith of its fathers.

AVEGNO SOULIER, III Latin."

The history of Ireland and of the Irish in America is an important feature of *The Spokesman,* a new publication which calls itself "The only independent Irish newspaper in America." The issue of August 4th, for instance, has articles on the reception at Dublin of the American Minister to Ireland; on the American Irish Historical Society; on Nathaniel Fanning, Naval Hero of the American Revolution, and a number of interesting matters of an historical nature.

Columbia, for August, 1927, publishes a sketch by Joseph Gurn, of one of our early Catholic patriots. His article, entitled, "A Priest in Congress," tells the story of the courageous Father Gabriel Richard, who was a member of Congress, associate of Webster and Clay, a pioneer of education in the middle west, leading spirit in the development of the University of Michigan, and a pastor fervent in the spiritual care of his flock. The author tells us that the building of his church of St. Anne put him in debt and he was thrown into prison by his creditors. "A brilliant idea now came to his friends, viz., to offer him as a candidate at the forthcoming Congressional election, since, if successful, his release would be mandatory under the terms of the United States Constitution. The Abbe agreed, and when the result of the contest was announced his name headed the poll. There were six candidates, at least two of whom, Biddle and Wing, were men of prominence.

We are told that the Abbe's appearance in the House created a sensation. He soon gained the confidence and admiration of his fellow legislators. Though a man of culture and a good linguist, his oratorical command of the American language was not the best, but the great-souled Henry Clay was then Speaker of the House of Representatives, and he aided the Abbe by translating into classic English the bad English of his colleague." F. J. R.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Bridge to France—By Edward N. Hurley. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia-London.

The author (a prominent Catholic of Illinois) has shown good judgment in waiting with his summary of the creation and operation of the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation until some of the "tumult and clamor" died so that a more dispassionate and calmer discussion might result. Mr. Hurley before, and during the war was in an ideal position to tell the story of the origin of the means for the transportation of men and material to the front,—The Bridge to France. He was (as he points out in the first chapter) closely connected with the advancement of Woodrow Wilson from the chair of President of Princeton University, through the governorship of New Jersey to the President of the United States. Whatever one may think of Woodrow Wilson, his ideals, aims and purposes one is tempted to join in the honest admiration of Mr. Hurley for his wartime chief. He brings out many interesting phases of the character of Mr. Wilson, and relates a number of entertaining anecdotes.

The discussion of the early disturbances in the Board due to its unfortunate organization is full and fair. In these chapters, as in the whole book, Mr. Hurley speaks with an honest forwardness, expressing his feelings and his opinions of men and affairs.

It is wholesome as well as somewhat startling to reflect that in doing their share to help win the war, as great a part was accomplished by the dockyard workers and the officers of the United States Shipping Board and of the Emergency Fleet Corporation as by the soldiers at the front and the general staff. For without the home organization there would have been no soldier at the front or if he were there, he would be from lack of supplies, merely an additional burden on an already overtasked ally. The mistakes and errors made by a body of men experimental in its origin, and necessarily experimental in operation while working in dire haste, are frequently blotted out and undoubtedly they are as costly in life and treasure as the errors made by the military arm in the training of the troops and the securing of martial supplies.

The discussions of the relations of the author with Edison, Ford, Firestone and others are enlivening and in a few words Mr. Hurley produces a well limned character study of the men portrayed. It is interesting to note Mr. Hurley's reaction toward Marshal Foch at

the meeting in Treves, when the Allied and German delegates met to work out a method of taking over the German ships and of furnishing relief to the German people, through shipments of food, etc.

There are a number of fac-simile letters and telegrams incorporated in the work which may make it valuable as a source-book.

The lesson one may gather from this volume is that if war is to continue as it probably will, to be the final arbitrament of the nations it will avail but little to have a well drilled citizen army unless we have given some care to the question of the transportation of the army and supplies and the steady flow of those supplies to the front. To accomplish this will mean a closer peacetime relationship between the War Department and the business executives of the day, and it might be well if a civilian council of leaders in war industries were selected as a permanent committee to advise with the War Department upon the question of transportation of supplies in time of war. In doing so we would be prepared, not only from a military standpoint but also from a commercial, for the evil which may at any time come upon us.

The United States—A History for the Upper Grades of Catholic Schools, by William J. Kennedy and Sister Mary Joseph. Benziger Brothers, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago.

The editors in their foreword lead one to believe that it was their intention to write a story history. In this they have succeeded admirably. The style is so attractive that it might offer some competition to a real story book in the favor of the younger generation. The book is profusely illustrated and that this is valuable both to the student and the teacher goes without saying. It enables the teacher to clothe the dead bones of the characters and to have them again enact their parts realistically.

As an introduction there is a preliminary survey of world history which will enable the teacher to point out the interrelation of history generally. The relation between the colonies and Great Britain preceding the Revolution, the treatment of which in some histories, now seems to be causing a great deal of comment, is adequately dealt with from an American standpoint.

It seems that a little more space could have been given to the rise and decline of the Know Nothing party and a keener analysis of the eruption and disappearance of the bigotry waves might easily have been made. Generally, however, this history fits very well into the niche for which it was intended.

JOHN V. MCCORMICK.

Chicago, Illinois.

CHRONICLE

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST PARISH, JOHNSBURG, ILL.

A recent Jubilee held at Johnsburg, McHenry County, Illinois, in celebration of the 85th anniversary of the parish and the silver jubilee of the building of the church gives evidence of the importance of the smaller parishes of our State.

Johnsburg, one of the oldest Catholic communities in Illinois, was founded by German settlers. There is a tradition that as early as 1838, Bishop Brute of Vincennes, Indiana, was in the neighborhood and baptized four children. The Germans, however, did not come until about three years later.

The first Johnsburg church was built of logs, twenty by twenty-eight feet, in 1843 or 1844—the recollection of the old members not agreeing exactly as to the time. The first frame church was built in 1850 to the testimony of old settlers and the diary of Bishop Van de Velde: "May 1, 1850—Visited new church (not finished, frame) of St. John the Baptist, in Miller settlement, three or four miles from McHenry town, (75 x 33 feet), well designed; made arrangements to have a frame church 50 x 35 feet, built at McHenry. A lot free, for the purpose was given by Mr. Brown, a Protestant."

"November 9, 1851—Blessed church of St. John the Baptist of the German congregation, near the village of McHenry; after last Mass exhortation in English; confirmed 63 persons."

On June 3, 1852, the Bishop confirmed thirty-three persons in this church. The building of a second church was undertaken in 1868, during the pastorate of the Reverend Clement Venn and the church was finished by the late Reverend Henry Mehring, who was pastor for twenty-four years. In February, 1900, the same church was destroyed by fire and during Father Mehring's time the present beautiful church of Johnsburg was erected. The building was begun in 1900, and was completed the following year. It is only necessary for one to take a glimpse at the interior of St. John's to realize that a real artist has spent several months and has expended a vast amount of artistic skill on the walls, pillars, statues and paintings in the building.

Up to 1852 the Johnsburg congregation was ministered to by visiting priests. The first priest visited the settlement in the Fall of 1841, by accident. He was the Reverend Father Fisher, sent from Vincennes to minister to the needs of Catholics in Northern Illinois and Wisconsin. Returning from the latter State, he had lost his

way and was brought by Indians to Miller's settlement, where he offered Mass the next morning in one of the settler's homes.

The first baptism was recorded in September, 1841. The first marriage was solemnized May 8, 1843. The first school house was built in 1850. For years this school was conducted by lay teachers, but later was placed under the care of the School Sisters of St. Francis of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Almost all the people of the parish have received their education within its venerable walls. The number of children enrolled today is one hundred and thirty-six.

At the present time there are one hundred and forty families who belong to the parish from which six vocations to the priesthood and eighteen to the sisterhood have been obtained.

In the community there are four societies and four sodalities, namely, St. John's Catholic Order of Foresters, St. Agatha's Women's Catholic Order of Foresters, Holy Name Society, Young Men's Sodality, Young Ladies' Sodality, Christian Mothers' Sodality, Holy Childhood Sodality, and Sacred Heart, Poor Souls and Rosary Confraternity.

Reverend William Weber is now pastor of the parish and is to be commended upon the progress which this small community has shown under his excellent guidance since 1915. Besides the work which has been accomplished by re-finishing St. John's Church, Father Weber has also labored most zealously since his arrival in erecting a grotto in memory of the Reverend Henry Mehring, who was pastor at Johnsburg for nearly twenty-five years and dearly beloved by his people. This beautiful grotto, an exact reproduction of the original and historical grotto at Lourdes, in France, today may be seen in the cemetery of Johnsburg, a worthy and fitting memorial.

Of particular interest to students of history is the fact that an important feature of the jubilee celebration was an original pageant depicting the history of the parish during its eighty-five years. The pageant and the memorial historical booklet serve to record and vivify for the present parishioners of St. John the Baptist, the history of their community.

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Chicago, Ill.

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TRAVEL LITERATURE AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY

INTRODUCTION

It has long been an established fact among historical students that a much needed volume for further research into the social, political, economic and religious factors in early American history is a critical *Bibliography of Travel in the United States.* For some years the American Historical Association has had a committee at work on such a volume, but unfortunately little progress has been made owing to lack of funds. A partial list of such sources may be found in the *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History,* by Professors Channing, Hart and Turner. More recently, attention has been called to this travel literature by Allen Nevins in his *American Social History as Recorded by British Travelers.* Dr. Nevins purposely limited his researches to a certain number of travel books, which would best suit his purpose in illustrating this class of literature as a source for the social history of the United States from the Revolution to the present time. The choice had necessarily to be a limited one, since the amount of travel literature has passed beyond the control of any one scholar. No one has yet estimated the influence of travel books in forming European attitude towards all the regulating factors in American social life. By some we have been caricatured beyond all likeness and by others who have visited our land, we have been so profoundly flattered that the judgments of the writers mean little in a summary of our national character.

The consequence is that travel books of more recent times have lost their interest for a great many of us, and instinctively we feel

that when Europeans are the writers, we must necessarily suffer unjust criticism. None have been so much the cause of this attitude as Mrs. Trollope, Thomas Ashe, Thomas Hamilton, Charles Dickens and others. Many of us are prone to take the view Johnson expressed in his *Idler*:

It may, I think, be justly observed that few books disappoint their readers more than narratives of travelers. . . . The greater part of the travelers tell nothing, because their method of traveling supplies them with nothing to be told. He that enters a town at night and surveys it in the morning and then hastens away to another place and guesses at the manners of the inhabitants by the entertainment that his inn afforded him, may please himself at times with a hasty change of scenes . . . but let him be content to please himself without disturbing others. Why should he record excursions, by which nothing could be learned, or wish to make a show of knowledge, which, without some power of intuition unknown to other mortals, he could never attain.

This may be a just estimate of the method used by some travelers in gathering their facts, but even an adverse critical attitude should not cause such books to be ignored since they contain, however slight and ephemeral, glimpses into certain conditions not found elsewhere. Many volumes in what may be called the Library of Travel Literature dealing with the United States contain a mine of information and facts for the American historians; and recent scholarship has turned its eyes in this direction and has brought to light a host of data that have aroused an ever-growing interest in this field of literature.

It is with this latest trend in mind that we ask ourselves the question: *What does all the travel literature of the past contain for the history of Catholicism in this country?* This essay is an attempt to answer the question.

At the outset it was evident that a definitive choice of authors had to be made. Consequently, with the aid of some of the best writers in the field of American history, MacMaster, Hockett, Schlesinger, John Gilmary Shea, John Fiske, George Bancroft, Channing, James Truslow Adams and others, the following selection of travel books was made as possible sources:

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WINTERBOTHAM, W., *Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the United States of America.* (4 vols., New York, 1796.)
ZAVALA, LORENZO DE, *Viage a los Estados Unidos del Norte de America.* (Paris, 1834.)

These one hundred and thirty authors were examined from the standpoint of their value as *loci historici* for our subject, with the result that a further delimitation was made revealing forty-seven travel books written between 1644 and 1842, recording facts about the presence of the Catholic faith in this country. The principle of selection adopted in this work excluded some twenty volumes which contained but passing references to the Church.

The period under investigation is that between 1607 and 1842. This period has been divided into three parts:

I. *From the founding of Jamestown in 1607 to the appointment of Father John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the Church in the United States in 1784.*

II. *From Carroll's appointment (1784) until his death (1815).*
III. *From Carroll's death (1815) until the journey of Canon Joseph Salzbacher of Vienna (1842).*

The method followed is a simple one. First, the authors are treated in chronological order; secondly, a bibliographical note giving the main facts of the author's life and writings; thirdly, the excerpts from his pages dealing with aspects of Catholic life are given *in extenso,* and these are examined in the light of their value for the social, political and religious history of Catholicism in this country. Finally, a synthesis of all that has been found has been drawn up for the purpose of passing judgment upon this Travel Literature as a whole from the same standpoint.

The following is the list of authors chosen, with the titles of the works examined for our purpose:

1644 —Printz: *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware.* (New York, 1912.)
1679-1680—Jasper Dankers and P. Sluyter: *Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-1680.* (Brooklyn, 1867.)
1721 —Francois X. Charlevoix: *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.* (3 vols., Paris, 1744.)
1748-1749—Peter Kalm: *Travels in North America.* (3 vols., London, and Warrington, 1770, 1771.)
1751-1760—Captain Bossu: *Travels in that Part of North America formerly called Louisiana.* (2 vols., London, 1771.)
1758-1760—Andrew Burnaby: *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America.* (London, 1875.)
1765 —Anon: *A French Traveler in the Colonies.* (*American Historical Review,* vols. 26 and 27, 1921.)
1766-1768—J. Carver: *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America.* (Dublin, 1779.)
1776-1781—Thomas Aubrey: *Travels through the Interior Parts of America.* (2 vols., London, 1789.)
1782 —M. L'Abbé Robin: *New Travels through North America.* (Philadelphia, 1783.)
1784 —J. F. D. Smyth: *A Tour in the United States of America.* (2 vols., London, 1784.)
1791-1793—François Chateaubriand: *Voyages en Amérique, en France, et en Italie.* (2 vols., Paris, 1828-29.)
1793-1798—Moreau de St. Mery: *Voyage aux Etats Unis de L'Amérique.* (Yale Press, 1913.)
1795 —W. Winterbotham: *An Historical, Geographical and Philosophical View of the American United States.* (4 vols., New York, 1796.)
1795-1797—Isaac Weld: *Travels through the States of North America.* (London, 1799.)

1795-1797—La Rochefoucault-Liancourt: *Travels through the United States of North America, in the Years 1795, 1796 and 1797.* (2 vols., London, 1799.)
1797-1811—John Bernard: *Retrospections of America, 1797-1811.* (New York, 1887.)
1806 —Thomas Ashe: *Travels in America in 1806.* (London, 1808.)
1807-1808—Edward A. Kendall: *Travels through the Northern Parts of the United States.* (London, 1809.)
1815 —Henry Têtu: *Journal des Visites Pastorales par Mgr. Jos. Octave Plessis, Evêque de Quebec.* (Quebec, 1903.)
1817 —John Palmer: *Journal of Travels through the United States of North America and Lower Canada.* (London, 1818.)
1818 —D. B. Warden: *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States.* (3 vols., London, 1819.)
1821 —Jacques Milbert: *Itineraire Pittoresque du Fleuve d'Hudson.* (Paris, 1828.)
1882-1823—William H. Blane: *An Excursion in the United States and Canada.* (London, 1824.)
1823 —G. C. Beltrami: *A Pilgrimage in Europe and America.* (2 vols., London, 1828.)
1824-1828—James Fenimore Cooper: *Notions of Americans, Picked up by a Travelling Bachelor.* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1828.)
1825-1826—Carl Bernhard, Duke of Sax Weimar: *Travels through North America.* (Philadelphia, 1828.)
1828-1831—James Stuart: *Three Years in North America.* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1833.)
1829 —Lorenzo de Zavola: *Viage a los Estados Unidos del Norte de America.* (Paris, 1834.)
1831-1832—Godfrey T. Vinge: *Six Months in America.* (2 vols., London, 1832.)
1831-1832—Alexis de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America.* (New York, 1900.)
1832 —Mrs. Frances Trollope: *Domestic Manners of Americans.* (London, 1832.)
1832-1833—Stephen Davis: *Notes of a Tour in America.* (Edinburgh, 1833.)
1833-1834—E. S. Abdy: *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States.* (3 vols., London, 1835.)
1834-1836—Charles A. Murray: *Travels in North America.* (2 vols., London, 1839.)
1834-1836—Harriet Martineau: *Retrospect of Western Travel.* (3 vols., London, 1838.)
1834-1836—Harriet Martineau: *Society in America.* (3 vols., London, 1837.)
1837 —Francis J. Grund: *The Americans in their Moral, Social and Political Relations.* (2 vols., London, 1837.)
1837-1845—A. F. de Barcourt: *Souvenirs d'un Diplomate: Lettres Intimes sur l'Amérique.* (Paris, 1882.)

1838 —James S. Buckingham: *America, Historical, Statistic and Descriptive.* (3 vols., New York, 1841.)
1839-1842—James S. Buckingham: *Eastern and Western States of America.* (3 vols., London, 1842.)
1839 —Frederick Marryat: *A Diary in America.* (3 vols., London, 1837.)
1841-1842—Charles Lyell: *Travels in North America.* (2 vols., London, 1845.)
1841 —Joseph Sturge: *A Visit to the United States.* (Boston, 1842.)
1842 —James S. Buckingham: *Slave States of America.* (2 vols., London, 1842.)
1842 —Charles Dickens: *American Notes.* (London, 1842.)

PART I

From Jamestown to Carroll
(1607-1784)

In this section we deal with ten authors. Between the actual landing at Jamestown and the year 1643, there is nothing of record in the sources at our disposal. It is known that Edwin Maria Wingfield, the first President of the Jamestown colony, was deported because of his faith. Wingfield's vindication of his action at Jamestown contains nothing of Catholic importance. In all the excerpts cited in this first part of our essay little more than passing references are given for Catholic history.

JOHAN PRINTZ

Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey, and Delaware
(1644)

Johan Printz was born in Bottnard, in the southern part of Sweden, in 1592. After an adventurous career in the armies of France, Austria and Sweden, he received knighthood in 1642, at the age of fifty. He sailed that year with his family to America, to assume the governorship of New Sweden. He arrived in the colony in 1643, and for the next ten years he ruled the Delaware settlement, maintaining the sovereignty of the Swedish crown against the Dutch and English. In 1653, dissatisfied with the outlook of the colony, Printz returned home. In his report of June, 1644, the Governor includes an interesting account of the rebellion of the Englist followers of Sir Edmund Plowden:

In like manner I have also spoken in my former writings about the English knight, how he last year wished to go from Heckemac in Virginia to Kikathans with a bark and his people, about sixty persons, and when they came into the Virginia bay the Skipper, who had conspired beforehand with the knight's people to destroy him, took his course not towards Kikathansas but to Cape Henry. When they had passed this place and came close to an Island in the big ocean called Smeed's Island, they consulted one another how they should kill him and they found it advisable not to kill him with their own hands but to put him on the said Island without clothes or guns, where there were no people nor any other animals but where only wolves and bears lived, which they also did, but two young pages of the nobility, whom the knight had brought up and who did not know of this conspiracy, when they saw the misfortune of their master, threw themselves into the sea and swam ashore and remained with their master. On the fourth day after that an English sloop sailed near Smeed's Island, so that these young pages could call to it. The sloop took the knight, who was half dead and as black as earth, on board and brought him to Haakemak where he recovered again . . . the principal men among these traitors the knight has caused to be shot, but he himself is still in Virginia and is expecting ships and people out of Ireland and England. (Page 101.)

Sir Edmund Plowden, a Catholic of Wansted, Hampshire, England, is the English knight whose misadventures are here related. He received a patent in 1634, from the viceroy of Ireland, under Charles I, for a large tract of land on both sides of the Delaware, called New Albion. Styling himself the Earl Palatine of New Albion, he had come to America to try and secure his claim. Befriended by Berkeley, who was then Governor, he made Virginia his base of operations, staying with his people at Accomac (Heckemac). From here at intervals he engaged in hazardous cruising, vainly seeking to induce the dislodgment of Printz and the Swedes. His means failing, his followers desired to return to England and rebelled. The expected "ships and people out of Ireland and England" did not arrive. Discouraged by his failure, Plowden embarked for England to return no more. New Albion was but a name.

JASPER DANKERS AND PETER SLUYTER

Journal of a Voyage to New York in 1679-1680

Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter were two Labadist ministers who came to America from Holland to find some suitable place in the colonies for the establishment of their religion. In Maryland they acquired some land, but there seems little probability that it

was ever used for the purpose it had been purchased. They traveled along the Atlantic coast to Boston, where they embarked for Europe. They remarked in their journal a number of interesting accounts of the state of the different religious denominations which they met in the colonies. The first reference to Catholics is entered in New Jersey:

There was a tavern kept by French Papists, who at once took us to be priests and so conducted themselves toward us in every respect accordingly, although we told them and protested otherwise. As there was nothing to be said further, we remained so in their imaginations to the last, as shown both in their words and their actions, the more certainly because we were French and they were French people. (Page 147.)

Catholics enter into the history of New Jersey at an early date, when James, Duke of York, ceded that land to a number of his countrymen, among whom was James, the Catholic Earl of Perth. There was no attempt to form any Catholic settlement in this territory, but a number of individual Catholics had come here to make their living. There are indications that priests found their way to New York, these being either seculars from England or Franciscans from Maryland. One of these is Father Smith, who is said to have been Dongan's chaplain and was in New York as early as 1665. It is propable that some of these priests in passing from Maryland to New York had stopped at this tavern. This would explain why these French folks were so convinced that their guests were priests and afraid to avow their character. Of Maryland they write:

With this he (Lord Baltimore) came to America and took possession of his Maryland, where his son, as Governor, resides. (Page 215.)

The Governor at this time was Charles Calvert, who presided over Maryland from 1661 to 1675. It is interesting to note what these two Labadist ministers wrote concerning the state of religion in Virginia at a time when Catholics were excluded from that colony and only a few of them lived there. This is the more valuable, coming as it does from the pen of a non-Catholic minister:

The lives of the planters in Maryland and Virginia are godless and profane. They listen neither to God nor His commandments, and have neither church nor cloister. Sometimes there is someone who is called a minister who does not, as elsewhere, serve in one place, for in all Maryland there is not a city or a village, but travels from one place to another, for profit and for that purpose visits the plantations through the country, and there addresses the people, but

I know of no public assemblages being held in these places. You hear often that these ministers are worse than anybody else, yea that they are an abomination. (Page 218.)

This remark does not seem to have included the ministers of the Catholic religion, for they are spoken of separately a few pages beyond. Some of the ideas that were prevalent in the minds of non-Catholics regarding the Church, find expression in this narration:

It remains to be mentioned that those who profess the Roman Catholic religion, have great, indeed, all freedom in Maryland, because the Governor makes profession of that faith, and consequently there are priests and other ecclesiastics, who travel and disperse themselves everywhere and neglect nothing which serves for their profit and purpose. The priests of Canada take care of this region and hold correspondence with those here, as is supposed, as well as with those who reside among the Indians. It is said that there is not an Indian fort between Canada and Maryland, where there is not a Jesuit, who teaches and advises the Indians, who begin to listen to them too much, so much so that some people in Virginia and Maryland as well as in New Netherland, have been apprehensive lest there be an outbreak, having heard what happened in Europe as well as among their neighbors at Boston; but they hope that the result of the troubles there will determine many things elsewhere. (Page 221.)

That the priests of Canada were thought to have control of the missions in Maryland may have been the result of the visit of Father Pierron, a Jesuit, of whom we will speak later. The mind of the people is expressed as believing that there was a chain of Jesuits at the different forts and uniting Canada with the southern colonies. This does not surprise us, for there is no doubt that the Jesuits sought every means to reach the Indian and that they pushed toward the south, from settlement to settlement. We here catch a view, too, of the fear that was in the hearts of those who were connected with the Jesuits in any way. It is just another vision of the fear that was so prevalent in Europe and led in the next half century to the suppression of that Order. Further north, in Boston, the same story is told:

There had also some time ago a Jesuit arrived here from Canada disguised, in relation to which there was much murmuring and they wished to punish the Jesuit, not because he was a Jesuit, but because he came in disguise which is generally bad and especially for such as are pests of the world and are justly feared, which just hate we very unjustly, but as the ordinary lot of God's children, had to share. (Page 388.)

Reference is here made to Father John Pierron, a French Jesuit, who had been for a number of years on the Mohawk mission and

later at Acadia. It was while at Acadia that he made a tour of the English colonies, as far south as Virginia, in 1674. He had interviews with a number of ministers in Boston, and was at length taken before the General Court of Massachusetts. He was freed and continued on his journey. This event must have been still a topic of conversation when our two travelers arrived at Boston. The greeting that was given to Father Pierron in 1674, can be contrasted with that which awaited the Abbé Robin during the Revolution, and the change of attitude is marked by a trust in things Catholic. It was, however, a hundred years later that this change came.

FRANÇOIS XAVIER CHARLEVOIX

Histoire de la Nouvelle France
(1721)

Being himself a historian, Charlevoix has left a very valuable collection of source material for the history of early Louisiana in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France.* Born in France in 1682, Charlevoix entered the Society of Jesus at the age of sixteen. He was sent to Canada in 1700 and for four years taught grammar in Quebec. He then returned to France to finish his studies, having gathered a great amount of materials for his history. In 1720 he was commissioned by the French Court, and began his travels through the French colonies to gather information for the discovery of the Western Sea. During this journey he visited practically every mission in the Louisiana territory. Concerning the work itself we can best quote John Gilmary Shea, his English translator: "*Histoire de la Nouvelle France* is too well known and too highly esteemed both for style and matter to need any explanation of its scope and object. The praise of Gibbon will alone assure the reader, that as an historical work, it is of no inconsiderable merit."

The first reference to Christianity was written concerning the Illinois village at Pimiteouy. We are led to put credence in the words of Charlevoix regarding the impossibility of judging whether Indians were Christians or not, simply from the religious articles that they wore on their person. Charlevoix tells an interesting account of an Illinois warrior who came to visit him:

Perceiving a cross of copper and a small image of the Virgin suspended at the neck of this Indian, I imagined that he had been a Christian, but was informed it was quite otherwise, and that he dressed himself in that manner only to do me honor. I was likewise told a story which I am not going to relate to you without desiring

you should give it any more credit than its authors deserve, who were Canadian travelers, who assuredly have not invented it, but have heard it affirmed for a certain fact. (II p. 208.)

He then states that in some way unknown to him the image of the Blessed Virgin had fallen into the hands of this Indian and its significance had been explained to him. He put great trust in the Mother of God, and on an occasion when he was surprised by a hostile Indian who was about to kill him, he offered a prayer to the Blessed Virgin and was saved. Charlevoix expresses the belief that it must be the fault of the missionaries that this Indian was not as yet a Christian. There had been a missionary at Pimiteouy before this time (p. 210), and the people there knew something of the fundamentals of the faith, for before leaving the village our traveler was asked by a woman to baptize her dying child. A few days later he arrived at the combined village of the Kaokias and Tamourous Indians. Here he remained one day, and writes:

I passed the night in the missionaries' house, who are two ecclesiastics from the Seminary of Quebec, formerly my disciples, but they must now be my masters. M. Taumer, the eldest of the two, was absent; I found the youngest, M. le Mercier, such as he had been represented to me, rigid to himself, full of charity to others, and displaying in his own person, an amiable pattern of virtue. But he enjoyed so ill a state of health, that I am afraid that he will not be long able to support that kind of life, which a missioner is obliged to live in this country. (II, p. 219.)

This appreciation of Mercier is like that of Bossu. The ill health of the priest was not so soon to end the great work that he was doing on the Indian missions. He was still at his post and the admiration of all, when Bossu visited Cahokia thirty years later. The next stopping place of the French traveler was at the village of the Kaskaskias, of which he writes:

Yesterday I arrived at Kaskasquias about nine o'clock in the morning. The Jesuits have here a very flourishing mission, which has lately been divided into two, thinking it more convenient to have two cantons of Indians instead of one. The most numerous is on the banks of the Mississippi of which two Jesuits have the spiritual direction; half a league below stands Fort Chartes, about the distance of a musket shot from the river. M. Dugue de Boisbyillard, a gentleman of Canada, is commander here for the company to which the place belongs. The French are now beginning to settle the country between this Fort and the first mission. Four leagues farther is a large village inhabited by the French, who are almost all Canadians and have a Jesuit for their Curate. The second village of the Illinois

lies farther up country at the distance of two leagues from this last and is in charge of a fourth Jesuit. (II, p. 221.)

From Kaskaskia to Natchez there seems to have been very little that was of a Catholic nature to give a report about. In the two lengthy letters written in that portion of his tour, there is not a glimpse of the condition of the Church. It is from New Orleans that he writes, in January, 1722:

This is the first city, which one of the greatest rivers of the world has seen erected on its banks. If the eight hundred fine houses and five parishes, which our mercury bestowed upon it two years ago, are at present reduced to a hundred barracks, placed in no very good order; to a large warehouse built of timber; to two or three houses which would be no ornament to a village in France; to one half of a sorry warehouse, formerly set apart for divine service and was scarce appropriated for that purpose, when it was removed to a tent. (II, p. 275.)

Considering this condition of the city in 1722, it is surprising to read the accounts of a few decades later, when the city and Cathedral drew such praise. The sad condition of the Catholics along the Mississippi at this time is very clear from the extensive account of the Natchez, of whom he writes:

I stayed among the Natchez much longer than I expected, which was owing to the destitute condition in which I found the French with respect to spiritual assistance. The dew of Heaven has not yet fallen on this fine country, which is more than any other enriched with the fat of the earth. The late Mr. d'Iberville had designated a Jesuit for this place, who accompanied him in his second voyage to Louisiana, in order to establish Christianity in a nation, the conversion of which he doubted not would draw after it, that of all the rest; but this missionary on passing through the village of Bayagoulas, imagined he found more favorable dispositions toward religion there, and while he was thinking on fixing his residence among them, he was recalled to France by order of his superiors.

An ecclesiastic of Canada was in the sequel sent to the Natchez, where he resided a sufficient time, though he made no proselites. He so far gained the good graces of the woman chief, that out of respect for him, she called one of her sons by his name. This missionary, being obliged to make a voyage to Mobile, was killed on his way thither by some Indians, who probably had no other motive for this cruel action, but to plunder his baggage as had before happened to another priest on the other side of the Arkansas. From this time forth all Louisiana, below the Illinois, has been without any ecclesiastic, excepting the Toncias, who for several years have had a missionary whom they love and esteem, and would even have chosen for their chief, but who was not able, notwithstanding all this, to persuade one single person to embrace Christianity. But how can we

imagine that measures are to be taken to convert the infidels, when the Children of the Faith themselves are without pastors? I have already had the honor to inform your Grace, that the Canton of the Natchez is the most populous in this colony; yet it is five years since the French have heard Mass, or even seen a priest. I was indeed sensible that the greatest number of the inhabitants have an indifference towards the exercise of religion, which is the common effect of the want of the sacraments. Several of them, however, expressed much eagerness to lay hold of the opportunity my voyage afforded them to put the affairs of their conscience in order, and I did not believe it my duty to suffer myself to be entreated on this occasion.

The first proposal was to marry, in the face of the Church, those inhabitants, who by virtue of a civil contract, executed in the presence of the commandant and the principal clerk of the place, had cohabited together without any scruple, alleging for excuse, along with those who had authorized the concubinage, the necessity there was of peopling the country, and the impossibility of procuring a priest. I represented to them that there were priests at the Yasous and New Orleans, and that the affair was well worth the trouble of a voyage thither; it was answered, that the contracting parties were not in a condition to undertake so long a voyage, nor of being at the expense of procuring a priest. In short, the evil being done, the question was only how to remedy it, which I did. After this, I confessed all those who offered themselves; but their number was not so great as I expected. (II, p. 277.)

PETER KALM

Travels in North America
(1748-1749)

Peter Kalm was born in Osterbotten, Sweden, in 1715. He received his early education at Upsala. By order of the Swedish government and the approbation of Linnaeus, he set sail from Sweden in 1745, to undertake a scientific tour of the United States. After two years in this country, his salary having proved too small to accomplish the objects of his visit, he returned home in an impoverished condition. He was appointed Professor of Natural History at Abo, where he died in 1779. A memorial of his visit to this country is to be found in the botanical name given to the wild laurel found in our woods. This plant was first made known in Europe by him and in his honor was called Kalmia. His work, *En Resa til Norra Amerika,* appeared in Stockholm in 1753 and was soon translated into Dutch, German and English.

Kalm made but one reference to the Catholic faith in this country, and that is but a simple remark. Yet it is helpful. In speaking of Philadelphia he says:

The Roman Catholics have in the southwest part of the town a great house, which is well adorned within and has an organ. (I, p. 43.)

The early history of the Church in Philadelphia is very uncertain. Watson claimed that as early as 1729 there was a chapel in the house of Miss McGawley. There appears no evidence for this statement. That the Jesuit, Father Greaton, built the first church appears well founded from two documents. There is a public document, that some priest purchased land on Walnut Street about 1734, and in his first account of his mission to Propaganda, John Carroll mentions Father Greaton, saying that he had gathered a congregation about him in 1730 or a little later. This would lead us to believe that the priest who purchased the land was Father Greaton and that he built St. Joseph's Church at that time. The original chapel is said to have been rebuilt in 1757, but from Kalm's description of the church which is "well adorned within and has an organ," it would seem that the new chapel had taken the place of the original one before 1748, when Kalm visited the city.

CAPTAIN BOSSU

Travels in that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana

(1751-1760)

Bossu, a Captain in the French Marines, in his volume, *Travels through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana,* gives to the reader a very interesting and at the same time an enlightening account of all that he saw. As the author stated in the preface of the French original, it was his intention to give pleasure as well as information. That this was done is evidenced by the several editions of the work which appeared in a short time. In a letter to Emerson, Carlyle says of the book, that it "has a strange interest to me, like some fractional Odyssey," thus giving testimony of the French writer's love for the picturesque.

Concerning the different religious orders that were then in New Orleans, he says:

The Capuchins are the first monks that went over to New Orleans as missionaries in 1723. Their first superior was the vicar of the parish; these good friars only employ themselves in the affairs relative to their station in life.

After two years the Jesuits settled in Louisiana. These cunning

politicians have found means to get the richest settlement in the colony, which they have obtained through their intrigues.

The Ursuline nuns were sent thither almost at the same time. The occupation of these pious girls, whose zeal is very laudable, is the education of young ladies; they likewise receive orphans into their community, for which the king pays them fifty ecus a head pension. These nuns are likewise charged with the care of the military hospital. (Page 24.)

In this account of the coming of the various Religious Orders to New Orleans, Bossu's statements are not correct as regards the dates of their arrival. Bishop de Mornay was appointed as Vicar General of Louisiana in 1714. When the Company of the West applied to him for priests, he offered the field to the Capuchins, of which Order he was a member. The Capuchins of the Province of Champagne accepted the call. The first to arrive at New Orleans was Father Jean de St. Anne, who came in 1720. It was in 1722 that Bishop de Mornay entrusted the spiritual direction of the Indians to the Jesuits. The founder of the mission was Father Nicholas de Beaubois, who was appointed as Vicar General for his district. He sailed for France to enlist priests for the new mission, and at the same time was commissioned by Bienville to obtain sisters of some Order to assume charge of a hospital and school. The Ursulines of Rouen accepted this call and eight professed sisters and two lay sisters arrived in New Orleans in the summer of 1727. With them were Fathers Tartarin and Doutreleau. If the Jesuits at that time were in possession of the richest settlements in the colony, it was due to their own labors for the Indians. In 1751, the same year that Bossu arrived in New Orleans, the Jesuits had introduced the sugar cane from Hispaniola and were already raising indigo and myrtle-wax on their Indian plantations.

In other statements Bossu is also incorrect in certain details as when he narrates:

In 1720, an Indian, having hid himself in a lonely place on the banks of the Mississippi, had murdered the Abbé de St. Come, who was then a missionary in the colony. M. de Bienville, who was then Governor, made the whole nation answer for it; and to spare his own people several nations of his allies were employed to attack them. (Page 26.)

Doubtless the reference here is to Father J. B. St. Cosme, a Seminary priest and younger brother of the missionary at Tamarois. He was born in Quebec in 1667 and was the first American priest who fell by the hands of the savages in this country. It was in 1706 that he started from his mission at Natchez for Mobile, to try to

be relieved from a cruel infirmity under which he was laboring. While he slept at night on the banks of the river, his party was attacked by a band of Sitimachas. He was murdered about fifty miles from the mouth of the river. Jean Baptist Le Moyne de Bienville, who is here mentioned as the Governor, was one of the founders of the Louisiana colony and under his direction the City of New Orleans was built. He was born in Montreal and had come to Louisiana with his elder brother in 1698.

At Fort Chartres Bossu left his party and went to Cahokia, concerning which place he writes:

The priests of the order of S. Sulpicius have established a mission here under the name of the Holy Family of Jesus. There are but three priests. I have been particularly acquainted with Abbe Mercier, a Canadian by birth and vicar of the whole country of the Illinois. He was a man of probity and had acquired a knowledge of the manners of the Indians who were edified by his virtue and disinterestedness. . . . He had spent forty-five years in cultivating the Lord's vineyard in these distant countries and the Indian nations of these parts have always respected him. This worthy apostle of Louisiana fell into consumption and died of it, expiring as a Christian hero. The French and Indians were inconsolable. (Page 159.)

Abbé Mercier was born in Canada and sent to the Indian missions from the Foreign Mission Seminary in 1718. Charlevoix mentions him as being at Cahokia when he passed there in 1721. The other two, who were at this mission at the time of Bossu's visit, were Father Laurens, who arrived at Cahokia in 1739 and cared for the mission there and the one at Fort Chartres; and the other, Father Duverger, who came to Cahokia in 1745, being the last priests sent to the Illinois missions by the Seminary. Bossu visited Abbé Mercier in 1756, consequently, instead of being a missioner in the Illinois territory for forty-five years, he had just completed his thirty-seventh year.

ANDREW BURNABY

Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America

(1758-1760)

The Reverend Andrew Burnaby was a native of Lancashire and a graduate of Queens College, Cambridge. He became vicar of Greenwich in 1769, and obtained some credit as an author by the publication of an account of a visit to Corsica. His book on America was "praised and valued" as an agreeable and fair report of the

colonies, then called "Middle Settlements." Writing during the war, the writer frankly declares that while his first attachment is for his native country, his second is to America. He felt that "fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies of America," and while he sympathizes with the American demand of representation for taxation, he could not see how the United States would remain united.

Burnaby's remarks on the Church are few and very concise. Of Maryland he says:

The established Church is that of the Church of England, but there are as many Catholics as Protestants. (Page 54.)

Father George Hunter, S. J., was the superior of the Maryland mission at this time. It was but a few years later that he stated in his report that the Catholic adults in the mission numbered ten thousand. This number included the few missions in Pennsylvania. Of Philadelphia the minister wrote:

There is here one Roman Chapel. (Page 60.) Papists are here present, all religions are tolerated. (Page 65.)

The Church here mentioned is that of St. Joseph, the Church of St. Mary being erected the following year. Father Harding was at this time the pastor and Father Farmer his assistant. Burnaby says that all religions were tolerated; while it is true that the Church did not suffer a great deal, it is worth noting that a year before Burnaby visited the city, there was passed the "Militia Bill," which obliged Catholics to surrender all arms and ammunition. All who would have been liable to military duty were obliged to pay a tax to the Captain of the company in which, no matter how willing, they were not allowed to serve. This tax was a hardship on many Catholics, who would have served in the militia if the law did not prevent them from doing so. Of New Jersey the traveler writes:

There is properly no established religion in this province and the inhabitants are of various persuasions. (Page 79.)

New Jersey was at this time a mission field without a church. It was visited occasionally from Maryland and Pennsylvania. The next place that Burnaby visited was New York, and concerning the religion of that city he says:

Besides the religion of the Church of England, there is a variety of others, dissenters of all denominations, particularly Presbyterians, abound in great numbers and there are a few Roman Catholics. (Page 86.)

There are traditions that there were priests who came at regular intervals to New York at the time of Burnaby's visit, but Shea does not favor this opinion and claims it is unfounded. The only other mention of religion in the book is a well-known fact about Boston:

The established religion here, as well in the other provinces of New England, is that of the Congregationalists. (Page 107.)

ANON.

Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies (1765)

Searching Paris archives under the direction of Mr. W. G. Leland of the Carnegie Institute, Mr. Abel Doysié discovered a manuscript of seventy-nine pages. The first fifty-four were written in English, the remaining pages in French. The writer was a Catholic and apparently a Frenchman and an agent of the French Government. All efforts to identify him have thus far been unsuccessful, except that it has been demonstrated that he was not M. de Pontleroy, whom Choiseul sent over to inspect the colonies in 1764. The unknown author of this journal studied the cities of the coast and especially Norfolk, Philadelphia and New York. His purpose seems to have been to ascertain the strength of the defenses of these cities and the ease with which they might be attacked. There are a few peculiarities of execution in the manuscript, including the constant capitalization of C, D, and E. Being a Catholic, he made the acquaintance of a number of Catholics in and around Maryland.

The first remark on religion is concerning Virginia:

The prevailing religion is the protestant, no romans allowed. (AHR, vol. 26, p. 743.)

In Virginia the Catholics had not received a favorable welcome. In 1641, they were forbidden by law to hold services and the following year all priests were expelled. By 1669 they had lost all right to vote and six years later were not recognized as witnesses in court. The law forbidding their presence in court was renewed to cover all cases as late as 1753. It was not until 1776 that religious freedom was granted to them. Bishop Challoner in his report of 1765, stated that the few Catholics in Virginia were cared for by the Jesuits of Maryland. John Carroll in 1785 reported that there were about two hundred Catholics in that State and they were administered to three or four times a year by the priests from Maryland. The narrative runs on:

Set out from thence for Mr. hunters, missionary, where I remained all next day and night. Mr. hunter is a Jesuit and superior of the Mission in this part of the Country. There are four Clergymen and four houses like this in the province, the fathers go about the Different parts to atend the Dispersed Catholiques. Charles County has more of the Catholique religion than any other but are poor in general. Lord Baltimore when he had the grant of maryland himself was one, but his unworthy Descendants have abandoned his principles therefore the poor Catholiques have lost most of their privileges. they were very much treatend in the beginning of the last war. father hunter tells me that there are about 10,000 Catholiques still in the Colony. he has generally from 800 to a th'd at his Sunday mass. (AHR, vol. 27, p. 70.)

Father George Hunter was the superior of the Jesuits in Maryland from 1756 to 1758. The war mentioned here is the Seven Years War, at the close of which the Catholics found themselves ground down with taxes and disabilities, liable at any moment to have their property taken away from them. The statistics here given agree with those of Father Hunter's report of July, 1765, except that there were at least six, and probably seven, stations at that time instead of four. The following day there is entered in the journal:

from Piscatoway to mr. Diggses, 12m. this is a Gentleman of the Roman Catholique Religion, and much respected In the Country by Every one that knows him. he has a considerable fortune. Mr. Thomas Diggs his brother is a Jesuit. he lives with him and at the same times Does religious Duty all around this part of the Country. he Certainly is an honor to his religion. he is a very respectable person in Every respect, amiable in the Eyes of all that are acquainted with him. makes those that are in his Company happy. he is a learned man and has seen much of the world. (AHR, vol. 27, p. 71.)

Father Thomas Digges was born in Maryland in May, 1711, and entered the Society of Jesus at the age of eighteen. He went to Europe to study and returned to this country in 1750. He was Superior of the mission for two terms, from 1750 to 1756. He lived to a great age and died at Milwood in 1805. He was among the first who favored the election of a Bishop for the United States. A few days later the traveler entered the following statement:

Dined at the tavern in a large Company. the Conversation Continually on the Stamp Dutys. I realy surprised to here people talk so freely. this is Common in all the Country, and more so in the Northland. the Catholiques seem to be very Cautios on this occasion. we went to Mr. Digges where I had again the pleasure of Conversing with the Rever'd father thomas, to my great satisfaction. (AHR, vol. 27, p. 73.)

The silence on the part of the Catholics in regard to the Stamp Duties was not caused by lack of resentment to this act, but by caution. They were already in a miserable political condition and realized that it would be folly to express their feelings at this time. Following this in the journal are two references to the different Charles Carrolls which are not easily recognized. The first reads:

here I met my good friend Mr. Christy who accompanied us to Charles Carol Esq'r, about three miles from town (that is the town of Patapsco), where he has considerable Iron Works. (Page 73.)

This most probably refers to Charles Carroll, the son of the Barrister. The second reference is entered two days later and reads as follows:

Dined with old Squ'r Carrol of anapolis. he is looked upon to be the most moneyed man in maryland but at the same time the most avaritious. he is a stanche Roman Catholique, keeps but little company owing perhaps to his distaste to protestants. I was never genteeler received by any person than I was by him. he has no family, only a b. son who he intends to make his sole heir. he had part of his education in france. (Page 74.)

This visit was without a doubt made to Charles Carroll, the father of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The description of the man and his manner of life as well as the name "of anapolis" point to this conclusion.

This visit was made at the time that Charles of Carrollton was returning from Europe. Whether or not the traveler had been informed that this son was an illegitimate child is not stated, but there is no question of such in respect to Charles of Carrollton. The writer of the journal was probably given false information by some of his friends.

Two remarks are made concerning the family of Baltimore:

Mary'd were formerly all Catholics, but very much altered since the Change of the stupid propietor. (Vol. 27, p. 75.)

Lord Baltimore is Both Proprietor and Governor of Maryland. the family is now protestant in persuasion, but not a bit more Essteemed for it. he is much Dispised in Maryland partikarly. (Page 76.)

In 1713 Benedict Leonard Calvert, in the hope that he would recover the control of the province of Maryland, paid the price of apostacy which was demanded for this power. His son regained the control the father had sought and the House of Calvert remained Protestant until it ended in dishonor.

Philadelphia was visited and two events in the journal have a Catholic bearing:

went with Mr. harden the roman Catholique missionary to dine with Messers. mead and fitsimons also roman. (Page 78.)
there is a roman Church here to which resorts about 1200 people many of which are Dutch, they are in generall poor. (Page 79.)

St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia, is the one here mentioned. St. Mary's was being built at the time and must have been nearing completion, although it is not mentioned.

There is but one remark concerning New York:

all religions are permitted here Except the roman Catholique. (Page 82.)

After the death of James the Second, all Catholics were excluded from New York. It was not until after the War of Independence that they were again free to practice their religion.

JONATHAN CARVER

Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America

(1766-1768)

Travels Through the Interior Parts of North America, though challenged by a number of early critics, generally passed until recently as the work of Jonathan Carver. This book, which is in fact a compilation from earlier travels, purports to be a narrative of Carver's journey. E. G. Bourne in the *American Historical Review,* of January, 1906, pointed out that the veracity of Carver had been questioned as early as 1832. At that time Charlevoix and Lohantan were named as the sources from which whole passages had been copied. It has also been suggested that Carver's *Travels* in their present form may have been compiled by Dr. John C. Lettsom. As a source for Catholic Church history, the volume is concerned exclusively with the Indian missions. The first mention is of the Huron Indians about Detroit.

Almost opposite (Detroit) on the eastern shore, is a village of the ancient Hurons, a tribe of Indians which has been more treated and by so many writers that adhering to the restrictions I have laid myself under of only describing places and people little known, or incidents that have passed unnoticed by others, I shall omit giving a description of them. A missionary of the Carthusian order of friars, by permission of the Bishop of Canada, resides among them. (Page 142.)

Until 1767 this church of the Hurons was under the direction of the resident priest at Detroit. In that year the pastor, Father Simplicius Bocquet, a Recollect, requested Bishop Briand to divide the parish. It was accordingly divided and Father Potier, another Recollect, became the first resident pastor of the Huron Church. Detroit was at this time under English rule and most of the residents of the town were English traders.

A long description of attempted reforms among the Indians is given near the end of the volume. In speaking of the Indian slaves found among the tribes, he says:

I have been informed that it was the Jesuits and the French missionaries that first occupied these parts that occasioned the introduction of these unhappy captives into the settlement, and who by so doing taught the Indians that they were valuable.

Their views indeed were laudable, as they imagined that by this method they should not only prevent much barbarity and bloodshed but find the opportunities of spreading their religion among them increased. To this purpose they encouraged the traders to purchase such slaves as they met with.

The good effects of this mode of proceeding was not however equal to the expectations of these pious fathers. Instead of being the means of preventing bloodshed it only caused the dissentions between the Indian nations to be carried on with greater degrees of violence and with unremitted ardour. The prize they fought for no longer being revenge or fame, but acquiring of spirituous liquors, for which their captives were to be exchanged. . . . It might still be said that fewer of the captives were tormented and put to death but it does not appear that their accustomed cruelty to the warriors they take is the list bit abated.

The missionaries finding that contrary to their wishes, their zeal had only served to increase the sale of noxious juices, applied to the Governor of Canada in the year 1693 for a prohibition of this baneful trade. An order was issued accordingly, but it could not be totally stopped. (Page 325.)

Both the French and the English were to blame for the manner in which liquors were supplied to the Indians. It was impossible to control the Red Man when he had intoxicants, and this was the complaint of Father Bruyas at Oneida, of Father de la Vente in Louisiana and Father Le Roy in the country of the Alibamons. The last mentioned, when he denounced the sale of liquor, was forced to leave his mission by order of the French commander, Montberault, who was, according to Bossu, a hater of the Jesuits. In speaking of the kindness shown to Indian prisoners, Carver writes:

This forbearance, it must be acknowledged, does not proceed altogether from their dispositions, but is only inherent in those who have

held some communication with the French missionaries. Without intending that their natural enemies, the English, should enjoy the benefit of their labors, these fathers have taken great pains to inculcate on the minds of the Indians the general principles of humility, which has diffused itself through their manners and has proved of public utility. (Page 322.)

This praise for the work of the French missionaries is followed by the expression of an idea similar to that of Charlevoix and the others, concerning the impossibility of judging the religion of the Indians by outward appearances:

It is with the greatest difficulty that one obtains a knowledge of the religious principles of the Indians. Their ceremonies and doctrines have been so often ridiculed by Europeans that they endeavor to conceal them and if after the greatest intimacy you desire them to explain to you their system of religion, to prevent your ridicule they intermix with it many of the tenets they have received from the French missionaries, so that it is at least rendered an unintelligable jargon, and not to be depended upon. (Page 356.)

THOMAS ANBUREY

Travels Through Interior Parts of America (1776-1781)

An officer in the English army under General Burgoyne, Thomas Anburey, was under fire at Ticonderoga and later at Saratoga, where he was taken prisoner. With others he was marched to Boston, where they remained for many months. At the end of that period they were moved to the south and were allowed a certain amount of liberty in Virginia. When the exchange of prisoners was affected, Anburey was again moved to the north, and sailed from New York in 1781. His two volumes are a compilation of his letters. They were not written with the intention of publication, but are extremely interesting. The Canadian letters of the first volume are very copious in Catholic references. Those which were written from the colonies, and which are here considered, contain but little to our purpose. While a prisoner at Boston he wrote:

Since the war every Church over the province is shut up, nor will the inhabitants suffer any other religion but the Congregationalist; they are to seize the opportunity to suppress the Church of England, as it was fast gaining, and therefore objected to it on the ground that they were praying for the King and Royal family. Some ministers offered to omit that part, but toleration is no part of their creed and they were happy to seize so favorable an opportunity to crush it. (II, p. 65.)

It is evident from this passage that the Catholic Church was not the only one to suffer from the Congregationalist spirit of intolerance. There was then no Catholic edifice in Boston and practically no Catholics, due to this opposition. The only other mention of the Church contains a reference to what is well known:

In traveling through Pennsylvania you meet with people of almost every different persuasion that exists. In short, the diversity of religions, nations and languages here is astonishing; at the same time, the harmony they live in is no less edifying. . . . Among the numerous sects of religion with which this province abounds, there are Churchmen, Quakers, Lutherans, Catholics, etc. (II, p. 284.)

M. L'ABBE ROBIN

New Travels in North America (1782)

The Abbé Robin was one of those French priests who came to this country as chaplains to the French forces during the Revolutionary War. Landing at Boston, he proceeded to Newport, where he met the French army and accompanied them to the south. His book of travels was not written as such, but like that of Anburey, it is a series of his letters, written from the various camps where the army stopped. His position gave him a fine opportunity for viewing the Church in this country and his records of the same are of value. The first American city that Robin passed any time in was Boston, which was at that time the most puritanical of communities and of which he wrote:

There are nineteen churches here of the different sects. Sunday is observed with the utmost strictness; all business, how important soever, is then totally at stand, and the most innocent recreations and pleasures prohibited. Boston, that populous town where at other times there is such a hustle of business, is on this day a mere desert. You may walk the streets without meeting a single person, or if by chance you meet one, you scarcely stop and talk with him. Upon this day of melancholy you can not go into a house but you find the whole family employed in reading the bible; and indeed it is an effecting sight to see the father of a family surrounded by his household, hearing him explain the sublime truths of this sacred volume. Nobody here fails to go to the place of worship appropriated to his sect. In these places there reigns a profound silence; an order and respect is observed that has not been seen for a long time in our Catholic churches. (Page 13.)

He then describes the churches and the want of any outward signs of devotion, the lack of all ornaments, which are so common to

the Catholic religion. The strange ideas that the inhabitants of the colony had of the French, previous to the war, is accounted for by the action of the English who disseminated prejudices and the Presbyterians who were bitter enemies of the Catholic faith. At the beginning of the war, he says, the French who came to this country seemed to verify these beliefs, being as they were, a group from the lowest classes of French society. This condition was gradually changing. In this regard he says:

Notwithstanding the fact that I was a Frenchman and a Catholic priest, I was continually receiving new civilities from several of the best families in the town; but the people in general retain their old prejudices. (Page 18.)

Certain proofs of this retaining of prejudices on the part of some are related and there is then no mention of the Catholic faith in the five following letters. In the sixth letter, he states that the army is at Philadelphia, and he remarks about that city:

The Roman Catholics have two chapels here, governed by an ex-jesuit and a German priest, who reckon the number of their communicants at eleven or twelve hundred. (Page 41.)

The two churches were those of St. Joseph and St. Mary. It seems that at the time of Abbé Robin's visit, 1781, the two churches were under the ex-jesuits. Father Farmer had been joined by Father Molyneux in 1773 and they cared for both parishes. They were still in charge of the two congregations when Carroll visited them in 1785. Of the condition of the Church in Maryland he wrote from Baltimore about the middle of September, 1781:

Lord Baltimore, an Irish Catholic, formerly established 200 of his persuasion in this place, and gave his name to the settlement. About one quarter of it is peopled by these unfortunate Acadians, and their descendants, whom the English cruelly forced away from their own happy country, to leave them destitute and poor, in a region where they are utter strangers. Their quarter is the meanest in appearance, and worst built of all, and the tyranny of the British Government has, till lately, hindered them from gaining anything by the happy situation of this town; being for the most part seafaring men, it is hoped they will not fail in time to make up by commerce, the loss of their fertile settlements in Acadia.

They still preserve the French language among them and are prodigiously attached to the nation from which they originated, especially in their religious worship, which they keep up with a strictness that would have done honor to the primitive ages of Christianity.

Their way of life is simple and plain, and their manners similar to those prevalent among them while they were yet in the happy regions of Acadia. The priest there exercised the authority over them

which virtue and education allow, over men not yet corrupted in their morals; they were their judges and their mediators and to this day these exiled people never mention their names without tears. (Page 42.)

The French chaplain then tells of a Monsieur le Clerc, who was their pastor in Acadia. This priest, of which name there was none in Acadia at that time, is said to have given them vestments and sacred vessels, admonishing them to be loyal to the faith of their fathers. Then follows a picture of their present condition:

Their Chapel is built without the town on a height near four or five churches of different sects. They complain much, that they do not find in their present ministers the zeal and affection of those in Acadia. Taken up with their temporal concerns, they bestow few instructions upon their flock, and their whole pastoral function seems to be confined to saying low mass once a month. (Page 43.)

The letter then relates that Abbé Robin himself was requested to officiate at one of their services, which he did. In a letter of Archbishop Carroll at a later date, it is remarked that these people who had stood so much for their faith, were weakened by the number of free-thinking Frenchmen who came among them during the war. There was also some emigration among them before the coming of Abbé Robin, as is to be learned from the account of John Smyth. The author of the letters goes on to say:

Maryland has a great proportion of Catholics among its inhabitants. At Fredericksbourg and other places in Virginia there are several Churches, as well as at Charlestown, the Capitol of South Carolina. All the North American Churches are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, who since the war, however, has relinquished all connection with them,; Protestants and Papists are now left to themselves without head or unity. The religion and the number of these people ought nevertheless to claim the attention of the patrons of the Church. (Page 44.)

Shea in considering this quotation concludes that Robin mistook a hastily written note. He had probably noted a church in Federickstown, and several chapels in Charles County, Maryland. Toward the close of his last letter Robin foretells with much correctness, one of the future struggles of the Church:

The immense variety of different forms of worship will probably operate the first cause of future dissentions in America, although it is to this very circumstance that they owe their rapid increase in power, and which will still contribute to their aggrandisement; but to suppose that toleration can be prejudicial to States is not the opinion of our times. (Page 82.)

Summary

The authors considered in this first part of our essay have furnished us with but little that is of Catholic importance. At most they have pointed out the conditions under which the Church then existed in this country. Passing references are comparatively numerous, considering the narrow confines within which the Church was then forced to exist. There is no mention of the Church until the rebellion of the followers of Sir Edmund Plowden, which resulted in the failure of the first attempt at Catholic colonization in the present United States.

There are frequent mentions of Catholics and the Church in Maryland and Philadelphia. The other cities of the Atlantic Coast contained but a few Catholic families, and these were, as is indicated in the volumes here considered, forbidden by law to practice their religion in public. Boston, the most intolerant of all the cities in the colonies, was toward the close of this period gradually taking a broader view of the Catholic Church. This change of attitude is evident from a comparison of the writings of Abbé Robin with those of another clergyman, the Labadist minister, Dankers. Charlevoix and Bossu have left us delightful pictures of the Church in the Mississippi Valley. That there was a lack of priests in that section is clear from a reading of these books, and a result of this lack was a condition truly lamentable in certain sections. Yet the Church had taken root and was flourishing. Mention of missionary work among the Indians is always in the form of praise.

Of the number of facts contained in these authors, none of them is novel. Each of them has been recorded elsewhere. They do, however, contain appreciations and sketches of the condition of the Church in the different parts of the country, and portray the gradual decline of intolerance toward the church. It was not until the close of this period that the Church was in any sense free in this country. It was at the close of the War of Independence that the Church began to grow and to exercise a wide-reaching influence on the Catholic people. After the appointment of John Carroll as Prefect-Apostolic of the United States, the Church assumed more form, there was more for the traveler to see, more that would attract his attention and a greater number of activities about which he could write.

PART II

During the Prefecture and Episcopate of John Carroll (1784-1815)

The close of the American War of Independence found many foreign soldiers, chaplains and travelers in the United States. Many of these took advantage of the Treaty of Paris (1783) to visit the cities along the Atlantic coast and the towns in the hinterland. Added to these, during the next decade, were many others driven out of the French West Indies and France during the worst period of the French Revolution. While the number is not large—only twelve authors have been treated here—the excerpts found in their works are of higher historical value than those of the first period. Besides, some of these travelers, such as Chateaubriand, Moreau de St. Mery, Bernard and Plessis, were Catholics and their reflections on the condition of the Church here are of greatest importance.

J. F. D. SMYTH

A Tour of the United States of America (1784)

Smyth's tour, as is evident from his book, was made under very unfavorable circumstances. During his journey, as he recounts, he was taken a prisoner, and from his own portrayal of those days, he was very harshly treated. The asperity of the author is doubtless due to this persecution which he had to endure in America, because of his loyalty to England during the Revolution. That he left our shores with unfriendly feelings toward the nation at large is judged from the fact that he advised against all emigration and prophesies the rapid decline of the country. While there seems to be a little animosity towards the Church, he seems to have given his honest opinion. We doubt whether all of his account can be looked upon as personal observation. His first observation is entered while in New Orleans, and is an insight into the sufferings of the Acadians, and their removal from Maryland:

This gentleman, descended from a Roman Catholic family in Maryland, was the master of a vessel belonging to his brother, Athanasius Ford, of Leonard Town in St. Mary's County, and had sailed from the River Patowmac with French Neutrals (as they are called) who had been driven out of Nova Scotia by the British Government on account of their strong predilection to the French interest

there, which at every risk they always were ready to promote and support.

The vessel was navigated by British sailors and was bound for the Mississippi, in order to carry the French Canadians to their countrymen there, where they intended to settle. But having got into trade winds they landed at the mouth of the Rio Grande, in the Kingdom, or the Province of New Mexico, instead of the Mississippi. (I, p. 249.)

This emigration accounts for the few Catholics of the Acadian group who were found in Maryland at an earlier date. A number of them did arrive at New Orleans. Those mentioned here were seized by the Spanish and carried to New Mexico, where they were made to suffer a great many hardships. Smyth mentions that a priest on learning of their condition was of great assistance to them. It is noticeable that the quotations which follow this first one have a very close resemblance to others found in the pamphlet *The Present State of the Catholic Missions Conducted by the Ex-Jesuits in North America,* by the Rev. Patrick Smyth. The similarity has led many to confound the two authors. The answer which John Carroll prepared for Patrick Smyth's article is sufficient answer for the other. It seems very probable that Father Smyth had seen the work of John before he started to write and used many of the things there recorded to strengthen his own argument. These descriptions are as follows:

Near the town of Port Tobacco upon a commanding eminence overlooking the Patomack, is a seat belonging to the late Society of Jesuits, in occupation of a Roman Catholic Priest named Hunter, in a situation the most majestic in the whole world. The house itself is exceedingly handsome, executed in fine taste and of a very beautiful model. (II, p. 114.)

Carroll stated that the only house of the Jesuits that bore even an inviting external appearance was this one of Father Hunter. The Rev. Patrick Smyth had said that these houses were all fitted out in the most comfortable manner possible. To this Carroll replied that this house alone was comfortable, but even this one contained nothing in the way of comfort that would not be found in the homes of the middle class in America. The account goes on:

The Province of Maryland, which was first granted as an asylum for the Roman Catholics, still contains a great majority of them, although the Church of England is the established church, to which they pay an equal proportion as the Catholics. There are in all probability three Roman Catholics for one Protestant throughout this province; and the counties of St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert and Prince George's, there are at least six parts out of seven of the inhabitants that profess that religion.

Previous to the dissolution of the Society of Jesuits, they had a powerful establishment in Maryland and were possessed of an immense property in that province, consisting chiefly of lands and slaves. Three of their principal seats or establishments are in Charles and St. Mary's counties; one just mentioned by Port Tobacco, the most beautiful place in the world and the most elegant situation, in the possession of the Reverend Father Hunter, who was the principal or head of the society in this province; the next is at the mouth of Briton's Bay on the River Patomack also, in the occupation of Father Ashby; both of the two last named places are in St. Mary's county.

Besides these there are several others, very considerable establishments belonging to the Jesuits, in this province where no person resides but the priests and their attendants. However, at each of these places they seem to have a haram of female slaves, who are now become white by the mixture. There are at this time numbers of beautiful girls, many of them as fair as any living, who are absolutely slaves in every sense of these priests, and whose posterity must remain in the same degrading unfortunate situation.

By far the greatest number of Roman Catholics are on the Western Shore (of the Chesapeck); and what is surprising, it is also the most violently rebellious and disaffected. The principle Roman Catholic families in this province are generally better descended than is common in America, where they are the most frequently ashamed to trace their ancestors a single generation back; but the chief families in this province, at least those of the Roman Catholic religion, came over with the first Lord Baltimore, and were originally from good and respectable families in England.

About the time of the dissolution of the Society of Jesuits, there happened a great confusion amongst them as well as all the Roman Catholics in the province, occasioned by a profligate priest of that order, who after playing a number of tricks with the female part of his flock, thought proper to lay aside his habit and his vows, and enter into matrimony with a young Roman Catholic widow, along with whom he lives to this day, in open defiance of the Pope and his bulls, yet still professing the same religion. This I mention as an extraordinary occurrence, so rare to be met with that a similar instance I do not imagine can be produced. (II, p. 115.)

The two houses mentioned here as the residences of Fathers Lewis and Ashby were said by Carroll to be far from superb, but were instead mean and despicable. The question of slavery was also considered by Carroll, in fact the entire letter, which was written to refute Patrick Smyth, can be used in reply to the work here cited. This letter of Carroll will be found in Doctor Guilday's *Life and Times of John Carroll,* pp. 313-321.

FRANÇOIS DE CHATEAUBRIAND

Voyages en Amerique, en France, et en Italie (1791-1793)

The well known author of *Le Genie du Christianisme* was also a traveler in the United States. He was born in Brittany in 1768 and received an excellent education in early life. In 1791, Chateaubriand, then a young man of 23, embarked for America. He remained here for two years and then returned to his own country. His *Voyages en Amerique* was not published until thirty-four years later, and contains quotations from another French traveler who did not come to this country until 1823. As first hand material, Chateaubriand can hardly be used. Some have gone so far as to question whether or not he came to this country. In the same year that his book was published an article appeared in the *American Quarterly Review* denying that the accounts were the personal experiences of the author. The beautiful scenes he describes on the banks of the Ohio make one wonder, if in his search for the passage to the Western Sea, he has gone further than Niagara. His account of the vast jungle on the banks of the Mississippi assured deTocqueville that his countryman had never visited that river. A consideration brings the first remark on the subject of religion:

> The religious traditions of the Indians are become much confused; the instructions first imparted by the missionaries of Canada has mingled foreign ideas with the native ideas and at the present time we perceive through the gross fables distorted Christian doctrines. Most of the savages wear crosses for ornaments, and the Protestant traders sell them what was given to them by the Catholic missionaries. To the Honor of our country and the glory of our religion be it said that the Indians were strongly attached to the French. They have never ceased to regret them, and the Blackrobe is still held in veneration in the America forests. (II, p. 95.)

This is a reiteration of the same idea expressed in the writings of Charlevoix and Carver, with the addition that the French were honored and respected by the Indian. On the following page Chateaubriand quotes from Beltrami. He introduces the quotation with the words that this is of greater value because in the earlier pages of Beltrami's book the author was very harsh in his treatment of the Jesuits. Chateaubriand quotes him as follows:

> To do justice to truth, the French missioners in general have invariably distinguished themselves by an exemplary life, befitting their profession. (II, p. 96.)

In our treatment of Beltrami we will consider this same quotation as it appeared in the original of the author. Beltrami is here no more favorable to the Jesuits than he was in other parts of his book. The quotation reads, "The French missioners, when not Jesuits, etc." It is noticeable here too that this book should have been consulted by Beltrami's countryman, when there was a space of about thirty years between the visits of the two. Of the southern valley of the Mississippi, Chateaubriand is not a reliable witness. He remarks at great length that the Spanish in that section are not fitted for life in the American democracy. This he claims must be so, for the Spanish people have never been other than slaves to the Spanish Crown, and that the masses of the people were uneducated and uncontrolled. He includes too as a proof of his thesis that the priests of the Spanish colony have led lives truly immoral:

Nothing was more common than to see ecclesiastics surrounded by a family, whose origin they took no pains to conceal. (II, p. 125.)

That he was altogether wrong in his statement of the impossibility of the Louisianians becoming good citizens of the United States is now a demonstrated fact. The independent government which would have been established need not be thought of, the condition of democracy in those parts being satisfactory. The final reference to things Catholic is like the others of a doubtful character. It is concerned with Columbia, of which he writes:

The whole of the clergy of Columbia are American. Many of the priests, by a culpable infringement of the discipline of the Church, are fathers of families like any other citizens and do not even wear the habit of their order. This state of things is no doubt prejudicial to morals, but on the other hand it has the effect of rendering the clergy, though Catholic, favorable to emancipation from the dread of more intimate relations with the Church of Rome. During the troubles the Monks were more soldiers than churchmen. (II, p. 136.)

We have found no record of a single native born priest in that section at the time of Chateaubriand's visit. We say with Bacourt, "I agree with M. de Tocqueville, who said that Chateaubriand had not seen all the places that he wrote about," and wonder where he gathered the information of the condition of the Mississippi Valley as he describes it.

MOREAU DE ST. MERY

Voyage aux Etats-Unis de l'Amerique (1793-1819)

Medric Louis Moreau de Saint Mery was born at Fort Royal, Martinique, on January 13, 1750. At the age of 19 he went to France to study law, and later practiced his profession there for three years. Returning to his native isle, he was made Conseil Superieur of the colony. During his period of professional law, he collected all the written laws of the Island, and the publication of these has made his name immortal to all students of West Indian history. Called to Paris in 1784, he aided in the administration of the colonies. At the outbreak of the Revolution, he became one of its ardent champions and defenders. He was for a time president of the Electeurs and served as a member of the permanent governing body of the Commune. When Robespierre came to power, Moreau fled from France and arrived in America in 1793 with his wife and children. He settled at Philadelphia and there published a number of works from his own press. He was friendly with Talleyrand when the latter was in Philadelphia. Moreau's last days in America were clouded because of the bitterness that was then manifested toward the French. Returning to France he entered upon a brief but notable career, holding a number of high government offices. His last years were spent in publishing the *Colonial History,* which is contained in the Collection de St. Mery. He died in January, 1819. Stewart L. Mims of Yale found the manuscript of the *Voyage aux Etats-Unis* among the collection in Paris. Parts of it had been used previous to the find of Professor Mims. The Yale publication is in the original French.

Norfolk was the port at which Moreau landed. There was at the time a number of French refugees at that port. Concerning the religion of the city he says:

> There is here also, as I have said before, a place consecrated to the exercise of the Roman cult. It is a chamber very much in disorder, where the preacher comes to the unhappy refugees of St. Domingo. This minister receives his powers from Mr. Carol, consecrated a Roman Bishop in London, named vicar general by the Holy See and resident at Baltimore. (Page 55.)

Passing through Frenchtown in Maryland he wrote in his diary:

> They say that the name of this town was given to it because it was formed in 1715 by a reunion of Acadians, whom the English had sent into banishment. (Page 95.)

There is a passing mention of the Church in Baltimore (p. 88) and one of that in New York (p. 163). The greatest amount of data of the Church in this country is concerned with the condition of affairs in Philadelphia. It is very bitter in parts, which is to be expected after reading the account of his stay there. His mother-in-law died in Philadelphia and for some reason was denied burial from the Catholic Church. She was finally buried from the Episcopal Church, with the Bishop of that denomination officiating. The account of the Church is as follows:

The Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches have organs. That which I have said in regard to the concord which reigns among persons of different communions, does not at all apply to the Catholics. I have said that they have three churches in Philadelphia. The one which is simply called a Chapel is placed back between Walnut Street and a little alley, and between Third and Fourth Streets south. This is the first church of this communion in Philadelphia. It is not more than a sort of oratory where they say low mass and where they administer for the convenience of the priests who dwell in the same place. The priests of this Chapel are Irish and consequently fanatics. They have the care of St. Mary's Irish Church on Fourth Street south. This church is only an ordinary house with a large door and another at the side. Over the altar is a crucifixion for a reredos. The pulpit touches the altar on the Epistle side.

The third church is the English Catholic Church at the north corner of Spruce and Sixth Streets. Those who frequent this church have separated from the Church of St. Mary, because of the Irish domination there prevalent, and because the priests are here real administrators. The English church has been built recently, and is much prettier than the other, if indeed this word is known to the other two. The pulpit is on the Gospel side, but too near the choir. They preach here in English. The altar has for a reredos a dreadful painting which intended to show Christ ascending into Heaven and being received by his father, who holds in his right hand a monstrance with a host. It has pews and a small organ.

The churches have a common cemetery which surrounds the Church of St. Mary, but each has a limited portion of this land. After the prayers for the dead the clergy, preceded by the cross, go to conduct the dead to the cemetery. The Roman Churches are the only ones seen to exercise publicly and in the street an act of their cult.

The English priests of this church pass for moderns, for the Irish will not marry one without a note of confession, and will not bury those who have not confessed. These two churches derived their authority from the Roman archbishop Mr. Carol. The Catholic cemetery is like that of the other communions in Philadelphia, full of marble and inscriptions.

On the 5th day of March, 1797, there was fulminated in the Irish Catholic Church of St. Mary a mandate of M. Carol, who inter-

dicted the English Catholic Church. The motive of this interdiction is the pretention that M. le Cure of the English Church, usurped all the fees, and at the same time his vicar performed all the functions. The church wardens proposed to him to take all the product of all that he did and one-half of that which his vicar received, but he would not, and was sent away. Then it was found that the Irish priests of St. Mary's made of this a capital affair, because the church wardens of the English church had separated originally from them. They rebuked the Irish priests always for encroaching on the temporal administration. The only effect of the interdict has been to carry more people to the English church. (Page 365.)

W. WINTERBOTHAM

An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the American United States

(1795)

Winterbotham was a dissenting minister and a political prisoner who was born in London, December 15, 1763. He became a Calvinist and at a later period a Baptist minister. At Plymouth in 1792 he preached two sermons for which he was arrested and tried for sedition. He was sentenced to serve two years for each sermon. It appears to have been during his imprisonment at New Gate that he prepared his *View of the United States.* This he did to meet an acknowledged want in Europe, where so many contemplating immigration to America anxiously sought for accurate information and for local and political details. The chief resources for his facts and principles seems to have been quotations from writers, both European and American. A similar work on China was written by him at this same time. As far as we have been able to ascertain, there is no record of the author having at any time visited the United States. He does not make this claim for himself in his books, but is generally believed to have made the voyage. He died at New Market, March 31, 1829.

After describing the condition of the other religions in some detail, he says of the Roman Catholics:

> The whole number of Roman Catholics in the United States is not estimated at above 5,000, one-half of which are in the State of Maryland. Their peculiar and leading tenets are too well known to need recital here. They have a Bishop, who resides in Baltimore and many of their congregations are large and respectable. (I, p. 383.)

There is in this quotation a serious mistake in regard to the number of Catholics in the country at that time. There was none

who had visited the State of Maryland alone and estimated the number so low. In the second volume there are a number of remarks concerning the Church:

The New York State legislature has passed a law for all denominations to appoint Church trustees to care for the temporalities. (II, p. 334.)

This law included the Catholic Churches as well as the others. The effect of this legislation is well known. Then follows a number of less important remarks:

There is one Roman Church in Boston. (II, p. 140.)
There are a few Catholics in Maine. (II, p. 221.)
There is one Roman Catholic Church in New York. (II, p. 317.)
The Irish in Pennsylvania are mostly Protestants from the North of Ireland. (II, p. 439.)

The third volume contains also but passing references:

The Roman Catholics were the first to settle in Maryland and are now the most numerous sect in that State. (III, p. 41.)
In Kentucky there are a few Roman Catholics. (Page 149.)

There is little of value in these volumes for the history of the Catholic Church. The other religions receive more ample treatment.

ISAAC WELD

Travels Through the States of North America

(1795-1797)

Disturbed by the war-torn condition of Europe, and determined to learn whether "any part of these territories might be looked forward to as an eligible and agreeable place of abode," brought Isaac Weld to our shores. It is he who is so often quoted as saying that Washington had known of mosquitoes in New Jersey that could bite through the thickest soles. He found much to discourage him in this country. He thought our manners cold and suspicious, our taverns crowded and ill managed, while he correctly remarked that Princeton and other colleges that he visited "better deserve the title of grammar school." For our purpose his narrative is of very limited value. In Detroit he remarked:

There is a large Roman Catholic Church in the town of Detroit and another on the opposite side called the Huron Church, from its having been devoted to the use of the Huron Indians. (Page 186.)

This is the same church that was mentioned by Carver in 1768. It was about the time of Weld's visit that this territory was assigned to the Diocese of Baltimore, having at that time been ceded to the United States. Father Richard and his two priest companions arrived in Detroit about the time Weld was making his observation. The author goes to some length to show that the different sects have not been in the least successful in converting the Indian and says in this regard:

The Catholics have the greatest number of converts among them, but this is because they place little restraint upon them. (Page 283.)

LA ROCHEFOUCAULT-LIANCOURT

Travels Through the United States of North America (1795-1797)

La Rochefoucault-Liancourt, a Frenchman, was at Rouen when the Constituent Assembly, of which he was a member, was dissolved. Subsequently he passed many months in England and then came to America. His *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis* and his efficiency in introducing the use of vaccination in France, caused him to be remembered as a man of letters and benevolence. He lived to a venerable age and won the highest respect, although long subject to the aspersions of partisan opponents, whom his liberal nature failed to conciliate. There is little of novel information to the American reader in his voluminous work, except the record of local features and social facts. He occupied himself chiefly with economical investigations, especially those connected with agriculture. He made himself much at home with all classes of society. The work on his trip to America is his chief source of literary reputation, and has been characterized by a French writer as "froide, sans imagination et sans l'esprit d'artiste."

The first Catholic fact mentioned is that there is a Church at Reading, Pa., for German Catholics, (I, p. 26.) Following this there is no mention of the Church until he arrived at Detroit. He says of the Country in that part:

A seventh of the lands is allotted to the support of the Protestant clergy. For the Catholic service nothing is paid except in Detroit. In Detroit half of the inhabitants are Catholic but no Church has yet been built. (I, p. 265.)

There is an error in the observation of the traveler in this remark. The Church of St. Anne was dedicated on July 26, 1701,

the present church being the sixth of that name. There was a church there continually from the first dedication until 1805. After the fire of that year, services were held for a time in a house which had been furnished as a chapel. At the very time that Weld was making his observation that there were two churches, one in the city and other on the opposite share, Liancourt was noting that there was no Church at all. When he visited the city, Fathers Richard, Levadoux and Dilhet were on their way from Baltimore, if they had not already arrived in Detroit. They were to take the places of the French missionaries who had been recalled to Canada when the territory was ceded to the United States.

Of the Indian missions there is mention of Loretto, which place though not in the United States, we consider as important, because it was composed of Indians who for the most part had gone from the States to that mission.

The Indians of Loretto have attained, it is asserted the last stage of civilization, at least in the point of incorruptness of morals and manners. No other village can in this respect rival Loretto. These Indians who on working days dress like the Canadians, wear on feast days and Sundays their usual dress. They cultivate their fields in the same manner as the whites, live like them and speak the same language. They are of the Roman Cathole persuasion and a curate resides among them. (I, p. 322.)

Loretto was a small Indian village of Hurons and located northwest of Quebec. It has its name from a small chapel there, after the model of Santa Casa at Loretto in Italy. An image of the Blessed Virgin was sent from Italy to the Indian converts, and was said to closely resemble that in the Italian sanctuary.

Of Norfolk we read:

There are three churches in Norfolk; one a Protestant Episcopal subject to the Bishop of Williamsburg, one belongs to the Roman Catholics and the clergyman derives his powers from Mr. Carrol, Bishop of Maryland; the third is a Methodist Church. (II, p. 17.)

JOHN BERNARD

Retrospections of America
(1787-1811)

John Bernard was one of the cleverest of comedians and one of the shrewdest theatrical managers of his time. He was born in Portsmouth, England, the son of a naval officer. At the age of eighteen he went on the stage. At the height of his power, at the

age of forty-one, he came to America, with his wife, a versatile actress. Bernard left in manuscript an autobiography, a portion of which was published by his son under the title of *Retrospections of the Stage*. The portion dealing with America was long after published by his heirs, and issued under the title of *Retrospections of America*. The last years of Bernard's life in America are missing in this volume, the manuscript for these years having been lost. The author traveled considerably in this country and was a quick observer and shrewd in his conclusions. The book contains many anecdotes and the style is admirable. After meeting Charles Carroll he made the following entry in his diary.

From the refinement of his manners, a stranger would have surmised that he had passed all his days in the salons of Paris. He had all the suavity and softness, in combination with dignity, which bespeak the perfection of good taste. This attested the character of his society. Ease may be natural to a man, but elegance —the union of propriety with ease—must be acquired; the art of respecting one's company as well as one's self implies that one's company is worth respecting. But Mr. Carroll possessed higher qualities than mere external polish. He had a heart that colored all his thoughts and deeds with the truest hues of humanity. No man was fonder of doing good, and certainly, none could do it with a better grace. (P. 28.)

Such high praise of an American who had been a signer of the Declaration of Independence, could hardly be expected from an Englishman during the period between our two wars with the mother country. It is the more valuable, for Bernard had made the acquaintance of the greatest men in America in that day, and of none does he write so highly. One other Catholic he saw fit to write about, but it is not his own personal observation, but an account given to him by a certain Mr. O'Donnell. It is concerned with Lord Baltimore:

He had the fortitude, forethought and deep undefiled spring of benevolence. Thus qualified to head an enterprise which planted the tree of liberty, where it was destined to shoot up and spread its greatful shelter over thousands. His spirit seems to have entered into the atmosphere of the country and gives it its happy harmonizing influence. (P. 138.)

There is reference here to the then new Constitution. He further quotes in the words of Lord Baltimore the letter that was written to the Swedish Governor:

The opposed of one country I can not become the oppressor in another. To me America is a city of refuge, not strife . . . on the

land where I am a stranger our children may become brothers. With God and our consciences for our friends, pride and envy and dissimulation will be our only enemies. (P. 139.)

THOMAS ASHE

Travels in America

(1806

Ashe has the distinction of being the first to discover that a book abusing the people of the United States would be profitable by its popularity. This stranger in our land was born in Ireland in 1770. He had traveled much in Europe before being forced to flee to this country because of financial difficulties. Having lived for a time in Maryland, he obtained a position in the secret service department under Jefferson. His *Travels in America* purport to be a collection of forty-two letters written by him during a journey from Pittsburg to New Orleans. They are concerned with the western states of that day, for he very early dismisses the eastern territories, remarking in his first letter that, "they are unworthy of your observation." The book helped to keep alive the enmity which both the British and the Americans had inherited from the Revolution, and it became an unsavory tradition. In Pittsburgh there was a favorable impression concerning the Catholics. He states:

I was content on being assured that the better kind of people frequent the Protestant Church and the Romanish Chapel. (P. 28.)

Father Helbron, the Capuchin, cared for the Catholics of Pittsburgh at this time. There was no resident priest there, this priest making his headquarters at Clear Spring near Greensburg. This hard warking priest labored in that part of Western Pennsylvania until 1815.

A very interesting account is given of the almost forgotten Gallipolis Colony. It is so complete that we have decided to give the entire text:

Galliopolis being a French town and settlement which has made a considerable noise in the world, I feel myself under a more immediate obligation to give you a correct and historical account of its rise, progress and fall. A land speculator who explored this western country a few years ago, took plans of the site of Galliopolis; surveyed two hundred thousand surrounding acres and submitted his labors on parchment, with all the embellishments of a draftsman, and all the science of a topographer. The site for a town was represented on a high plane of great extent and beauty,

commanding views up, down and across the river for several miles. Eminences were everywhere pointed out as eligible for the residence of the wealthy, and comfortable secluded spots were marked for the retreat of the more humble and indigent. Long extended and fertile tracts were noted as proper places for the exertion of the most powerful and industrious, and water falls, cataracts and rapid streams descended and flowed for the benefit of mills, the promotion of commerce, and the diffusion of prosperity and happiness. When these advantages were magnified by the high colored machinery of hanging woods; ever verdent meads interspersed clumps of flowering magnolia and oderiferous catalpa, natural vineyards with purple clusters of grapes bending to the ground, and all other objects incident to sublime landscape, it may well be supposed that the gentleman's plans cultivated the sanguine French and formed an irresistable lure to this celestial paradise. His maps and surveys had marginal notes illustrative of its natural history, and the buffalo, elk, deer, birds, fish, and game of every description were stated to abound in such quantity that for several years man could subsist without any labor other than the healthy and pleasant occupations of hunting and fishing.

Furnished with testimonies of so flattering a nature and with credentials of the first authority to the most respectable houses in Paris, he repaired to that Capital and met with all the hospitality and attention to which he was entitled by his manners, intelligence and introductions. After associating with the great some months, he gave publicity to his views; opened by permission of the Government a land office;; exhibited his charts and plans and offered lands they expressed for a French crown per acre. The troubles then existing in France were favorable to his intentions. Those who were compelled to stifle their resentment against the state, were rejoiced at the opportunity to abandon it, and the Government at length tired of the perpetual work of the guillotine, preferred to get rid of the disaffected by emigration, to the labor of compression in dungeons or the effusion of blood.

Numerous emigrants were ready to repair to the extolled territory. Of these a few of the more opulent, liberal and enlightened combined to purchase the speculators whole right and title, and extinguished all his claim for one thousand crowns, and of course assumed to themselves the disposition of the lands and the charge of settling them, but without any pecuniary advantage. A proceeding as honorable as this in the proprietors had the auspicious effect. In a short time five hundred families previously well situated embarked with the proprietors for the United States, crossed the mountains and descended the river to their new possessions to the "promised land, flowing with milk and honey, and abounding with all the necessaries and luxuries of life."

The lands were divided among them according to priority of purchase, and where it could with propriety, according to predilection and choice. Some went to subjugate the forests; some to reside on the rivers' banks. Some went in pursuit of mill seats, cataracts and

falls, and others contented themselves to look at the flowering meadows and arromatic groves. A considerable number remained to settle the town now called Galliopolis.

Such a body of settlers soon effected a change in the face of nature. A very neat town quickly arose on a delightful plain, and a number of little comfortable homes adorned the best situations along the river. Having brought with them implements of husbandry and seeds of all kinds of fruit and vegetables from Europe, the colony appeared to flourish to an unprecedented degree and to extend its fame to the widest bounds. This unexampled character and success was the operation of two years. On the third, the settlers retired to the back country, and who did not suffer death came in and reported that the meadows and good lands they went in search of proved no more than swampy intervals between mountains where men could not exist, and that the mill seats and waterfalls were dry, except during the dissolution of the winter snows, which could not be calculated upon only for the short period of about three weeks in the year.

The return of these disappointed speculators alarmed the infant town, and the river settlements spread an apprehension of the want of bread and general distress. Small patches of gardens and vistas to the water had gone to the drudgery of preparing ground heavily timbered for the purposes of raising corn or producing the other necessaries, which are the result only of toil and unremitting industry. Unfortunately, too, the settlers were for the most part artisans who had resided all their lives in Paris, Lyons and the other great towns of France. To labor in gloomy woods, and clear for agriculture land crowded with trees several feet in diameter, was a task incompatible with their former habits and views. A contracted system of horticulture was all they were equal to and such a mode could not provide for any supernumerary mouths. The discontented were resolved to return home, and others to proceed to the Eastern States, sell their shares and resume their ancient professions.

From the sale of possessions, however, very little trouble arose. At the time when affairs were progressing, and improvements going on with as much vigor as could be expected from emaciated mechanics and effeminate shop-keepers, a person arrived in the colony, claiming it as his own, and stating that the man who sold the land in France was an impostor. To a people already under suffering and disappointment, this was a dreadful blow that could not be averted, and which involved in its fall the ruin of their hopes and the labor and toil of the four previous years. The new claim was sanctioned by Congress, and a proposition was made to the French to abandon their improvements, or to repurchase a certain quantity adjoining to and including such improvements, at the rate of two dollars more per acre. Many spurned at this proposition however fair, and left the country in disgust, while others with large families remained, again purchased and persevered to give the settlement a rise, in despite of disappointment, imposition, calamity, and a host

of evils and difficulties which required all the energies of human exertion to avoid and to remove.

Such strength of mind and perseverance merited a successful fate, and no doubt would have terminated in a happy issue, but for ponds lying behind or near the town, which often infected the air and predisposed to fever and ague, even from the commencement of the settlement, but on the fifth year they became so contagious that many died and several became so seriously alarmed as to throw up their improvements and sell all their titles for the little they required to travel to Philadelphia or New York, where they might follow handicraft trades and procure bread with more ease and security. Those who remained were principally the infirm and young children; few improvements went on, the place continued rapidly to decline, and is now at the period of my writing, in a fair way of being restored to nature, and returning to the gloom of its primative woods. The total number of habitable houses is reduced to nine, about seven more are occupied in the original purchase. Thus I account for sixteen families out of five hundred who came into the country a few years before, big with expectations of felicity and dreaming of nothing less than perpetual comfort and continual happiness. The sixteen families which persist in remaining are those who purchased a second time. I am happy to have authority to account for seventy more families who arrived from France and which seventy were those who left Gallipolis in disgust on the learning of the springing up of the new proprietor, who required them to make a new purchase or to quit the premises. Congress, much to its honor, made their case a national one and has granted them lands lower down the river in lieu of those they had to abandon in this place. They report to their friends that their new grounds are excellent, but that sickness and excess of unaccustomed labor keeps thinning them by no very insensible degrees. (P. 163 ff.)

The history of Gallipolis started in New York with the founding of the Scioto Company. This company was formed by William Duer, then Secretary of the United States, who saw an opportunity of profiting by joining with the Ohio Company, who was at this time attempting to purchase land from Congress. By his association with members of the Ohio Company, and by persuasion used in Congress, Duer succeeded in obtaining about one-half of the land sold to the Ohio Company. It was his intention to sell the land and he looked to Europe as a place of possible sale. To attain this end he dispatched Joel Barlow to France. Arriving there in 1788, Barlow soon learned that it was not possible to sell the land as one tract, and formed a French Scioto Company to sell in small lots. William Playfair seems to have managed the business of the company from that time on, and received whatever money was paid by the French buyers. In 1789 the French company made their purchase, and

apparently they knew at the time that they had only an option on the land, although the literature that was circulated did not say this explicitly. French travelers who had visited this country warned their countrymen not to buy the land, but their advice was not heeded. Those who came represented a complete cross-section of French society at the outbreak of the French Revolution. It was suggested that a seminary be built at Gallipolis, to serve as a refuge if St. Sulpice in Paris were closed. It was a fond hope that the Church would be placed on a firm foundation in the new colony and the question of establishing a bishopric there is an interesting chapter in our Church history. Troubles started as soon as the first of the colonists arrived in the country and found that the land they had bargained for was the property of the Ohio Company. They arrived at the settlement in October, 1790. Of Dom Didier, the Benedictine who accompanied them, little is recorded. Father Badin, who visited the town in the same year as Ashe, said that though the settlement had much declined, he found the spark of faith there, and a number of Irish settlers in the vicinity.

Of the Church in New Orleans a rather long account is given by Ashe. It is not correct in every detail, but is so substantially. It runs as follows:

The religion is Catholic; that is, the religion of the French and Spanish is Catholic; as for the Americans they have none. They disregard the Sabbath entirely; or if they go to the Catholic Church, there not being any other, they go to a spectacle, where fine women are to be seen and fine music to be heard.

The Catholic Church, as well as the Town House, the Jail and the palace of the priests, were all built by the once celebrated merchant, Don Andre, on condition that he should be made a noble of Spain. He lived to expend two million dollars on these and other public works, but he died before the ambitious honors were lavished upon him; and his wife has the mortification still to be called Madame Andre.

The Church is a very large structure, built of brick and plastered in front and painted to give it the appearance of marble.

In the Sacristy there are several relics; among which is a thorn of our Saviour's crown, tinged with his blood; a cloth of Santa Veronica, enriched with his image, and a cross of Indian workmanship, said to be found on the bank of the Riviere Noir, on the very spot where the famous Ferdinand de Soto ended his discoveries and his life, and where his remains now lie buried. The priest who exhibited the altar and the relics, appeared much displeased with the little belief afforded them by Americans, and informed me that orders had arrived from the Bishops of Cuba and Mexico to forward all the pictures and relics from the Churches of Louisiana to New Spain,

where the honours of belief and admiration, in anxious solicitude awaits them.

Besides the Church there is another place of religious worship—a convent for the instruction and accomodation of fifty nuns. They have a very neat Chapel where mass is celebrated twice daily, during which the nuns join in the melody of the service from a situation separated from the audience by close iron bars. I could just distinguish that they were dressed in black robes, with the same colored veil flowing from the head to the feet. They are not allowed to take in novices; as on the death of the present nuns, the American government purposes to seize on their possessions and lands, which are very considerable both in the city and neighborhood. (P. 336.)

Don Andre Almonaster y Roxas generously offered his aid when the New Orleans conflagration of 1788 destroyed the church, school and Capuchin convent. He offered to build the church, priests house and a building for public offices and was to be repaid at a later date. This offer was immediately accepted and work was started at once. Don Andre died in New Orleans on April 26, 1789, and was buried in the church he had built. His remains now lie in the Cathedral. He received a cedula from Spain, conferring on him the honors and rights of Royal Patronage, but it did not arrive until 1794, five years after his death. The Ursuline convent here spoken of is the original dwelling of that order in New Orleans. At the time that Ashe was in the city, there were but six sisters in the convent, the others having gone to Havana when the United States annexed Louisiana. The statement that they were not allowed to take novices is not true. A few years before this the nuns were advised by the President of the United States that they would receive every protection that could be given by the Government. It is also a fact that a few years after Ashe's visit a number of Ursulines arrived at this convent to take the places of those who had left. Bishop Du Bourg was a few years later seeking postulants for the community in France and a number of young girls responded. The sisters moved out of the city in 1824, because the city had gradually grown about the convent property and a street was about to be cut through the grounds. The land was not, however, taken by the government. The original building still stands, the oldest conventual structure in the United States and the oldest building in the Louisiana Purchase. When the sisters moved, it became the first episcopal residence and later the diocesan chancery.

EDWARD A. KENDALL

Travels Through the Northern Parts of the United States

(1807-1808)

Edward A. Kendall, a miscellaneous writer, was born about 1776. There is little known about his early years. He traveled through the northern part of the United States in 1807 and about a year later published a somewhat dull account of his wanderings in three octavo volumes. No previous work on this country so fully explains the State policy and organization of New England and the social facts connected therewith. "The intention of travel," he says, "is the discovery of truth." He pays much attention to New England customs, the famous Blue Laws forming a curious chapter. He returned to England and in 1819 founded the *Library and Weekly Review*. In his writings on Ireland he was a pronounced anti-Catholic. He wrote a great number of works and died at Pimlico, October, 1842.

The first volume of Kendall's travels does not include any Catholic data. The second volume has a few references, all bearing on New England. The first is a mere mention:

> There is one Roman Catholic Church here (Boston). II, p. 243.)

The Church of the Holy Cross was the first church erected in Boston. It had been consecrated just a few years before this time by Bishop Carroll. It was a noteworthy fact that at this time, in puritanical Boston, $11,000, or about one-third of the whole cost of the structure, had been raised among the well-to-do Protestants, President John Adams heading the list. Charles Bulfinch, another Protestant and the designer of the Capitol at Washington and the State House in Boston, supplied the plans for the church without charge.

A very poor motive for the zeal that caused the French missionaries to seek out the Indians is put forth in the following manner, after speaking of the struggle between the French and the English for the supremacy of the trade with the Indians:

> To counteract the obstacles that lay before them, the French had but one resource and that was in the propagation of the Christian and Roman Catholic Faith. They avow again and again, that wherever they were obliged to enter into competition with the English, they had neither friend in the field, or customer at the trading house, but among those that knelt at their altars. (II, p. 60.)

A rather complete account is given of the death of Father Rale in the third volume of the account of travels. It is as follows:

The first attempt of the government of Boston against the mission (Abenakies and Nanrantawacs) consisted in the very allowable one of sending a Protestant missionary to effect, if possible, a change of religion among the Indians. After the Treaty of Utrecht, the English found means to build trading posts on the Kenebec, even with the consent of the Indians, but new wars succeeded and the mission of the Nanrantawacs was the cradle of Indian dissaffection. In January, 1722, a party ascended the river to seize the person of Father Rale, the missionary. On the report of their arrival Father Rale escaped to the woods and the party returned without success except that it was able to pillage the church and the Missionary House and carry away what provisions it found in the village. It had chosen a season in the year when the strength of the village was absent at the chase.

(Second attack) Having reached the village undiscovered, a discharge of musketry, of which the balls pierced the bark coverings of the wigwams, was the first intimation given to the Indians of the presence of the enemy. The next moment, Father Rale, a man of sixty-seven years, showed himself and was no sooner perceived in the street than a general shout was raised by the assailants, accompanied by a second discharge of musketry by which he was wounded and killed. (III, p. 63.)

If the Nanrantawacs' Mission was the cradle of disaffection the cause was well known. Massachusetts Bay colony, in claiming the Maine territory, paid no attention to the claims of these Indians and made no attempt to purchase the lands from them. Moreover, the religion they had espoused was no longer permitted in the colony. This was naturally resented by the Indians. In 1698, when the commissioners of the colony met the Indians in conference at Pentagoet, the latter had refused to expel the missionaries. The request was again made in 1701 and again refused. In 1704 the English took a different means to effect their wish. After destroying the missions the English offered to rebuild them if the priests were sent away. This means also failed. A final attempt was made in 1717 by sending a Protestant minister to reside among the Indians to convert them to the Protestant faith. No more success awaited this person than had been met with previously. The first armed attempt to end the mission was made in 1722, when two separate attacks were made; one on the Penobscots and the other on the Village of Norridgewock, where Father Rale was stationed. This time the missionary hid himself in the woods and escaped. The second attempt on his life, which was successful, was made in 1724, under Colonel Moulton, who commanded a band of English and Mohawks. Father Rale

knew that he was the chief object of the attack and delivered himself up to save his Christians. Seven of his Indians died at his side in an attempt to save him. The mission was burned and most of the survivors went to Canada.

HENRY TETU

Journal des Visites Pastorales par Mgr. Plessis

(1815-1816)

Joseph Octave Plessis was born in Quebec on March 3, 1763. He was educated in the schools of Montreal and Quebec and was ordained a priest in 1786. Eleven years later, in 1797, he was named Vicar-General of Quebec and chosen as coadjutor. The bulls having been delaying owing to the imprisonment of Pius the Seventh, Plessis was not consecrated until 1801. He immediately assumed the greater part of the administration of the diocese, Bishop Briand being old and infirm. In 1806 he became Bishop of Quebec and in this position won the love and respect of all who knew him. When the United States declared war in 1812, the Bishop urged the Canadians to be loyal to England, for which he was honored by the English Government. In 1815, Plessis made a tour of New England and New York. His diary of this time contains a number of valuable references, as does that of a year later when he visited Detroit, while on a visitation to the western part of his diocese.

The excerpts from this work, if taken *in extenso,* would we feel, carry us too great a length. In the case of this pastoral record of visitations, then, we will give the substance of what is there contained. On the 24th of August, in 1815, Plessis was en route to the United States and wrote in his diary:

> About a half a league from this place (Mouse Island) on the right bank of the river Sante-Croix, is situated the Abnaquis village, called Point Pleasant, where the Bishop of Quebec at the request of the Bishop of Boston, has promised to give confirmation. (I, p. 132.)

It was five days later that the Canadian party reached the town of Point Pleasant. The journal contains a very lengthy account of the history of this Maine mission, and then follows the happenings of the day. He writes:

> This village is composed of Abenaquis, Canibas, Malechites or Amerecites, gathered together as has before observed in regard to the Indians of the Saint Jean River . . . it was toward the River Sainte-Croix that the first Jesuits were sent when charged to an-

nounce the faith to the savages of North America. The first seed has not been lost. (I, p. 135.)

He then goes on to relate the trials that came to the Indians, first from the English and later from a Recollect lay brother, who appeared among them and, pretending to be a priest, went through all the forms of the Sacraments, and finally robbed the Indians of their few savings. This brother had come from Canada, in 1782, being known there as Brother Juniper. These Indians were without a priest for several years and suffered:

The privation of spiritual assistance until M. Adrien Leclere started a mission at Madawaska. (I, p. 137.)

This was in the year 1786. The distance from the Indian villages to Madawaska was so great that the natives petitioned the Bishop of Quebec, Msgr. Hubert, to send them a priest. This prelate reminded them that the Maine district was now under the United States and that the Spiritual direction of those parts was under Carroll, an ex-Jesuit, who had been named Prefect-Apostolic of the United States. A second time the Indians returned to the Bishop of Quebec, who on this occasion informed them that there was a new Bishopric in Baltimore and that Carroll had been consecrated as the Bishop of the new See.

They lost no time, and that same year (1791) they sent a deputation of three Indian villages of the rivers Sainte-Croix, Penobscot and Saint-Jean, without considering that these last were still British subjects and belonged to the Diocese of Quebec. The deputies were given a letter signed by the chiefs of the three cantons, written in English by some strange hand, and dated May 17, 1791. Among other things they said to the new Bishop: 'A great number of our young have grown up, without having received Baptism; our women have not the ceremonies of the Church after childbirth. We ourselves are covered with a multitude of sins . . . we pray you, father of the Church in this land, to send us a priest, we await with anxious heart and hoping a gratious answer. (I, p. 138.)

The Indians at the same time presented to Bishop Carroll a crucifix, thinking that this image would have more of an appeal than their words. This pious artifice had its effect, and the Bishop wrote the same day to the Superior General of Saint Sulpice, M. Emery, for priests. The following year two priests arrived in Baltimore and one of them, Father Ciquard, was sent immediately to the Passamaquody, on the River Sainte-Croix. He remained here until he was transferred, in 1794, to the River Saint-Jean, and from this latter station he visited the Penobscots. There follows a very long account

of the Abbé Cheverus, his arrival in America and his appointment under Father Matignon, whom Plessis praises in the highest terms. There then follows an account of the day itself. It was the 29th of August that Plessis arrived at the Penobscot village:

They found between sixty and eighty families gathered together to receive Confirmation from the hands of the Bishop of Quebec. He was received with all the ceremonies as if he had been the Bishop of the Diocese. (I, p. 140.)

It was necessary to wait a few days before administering the Sacrament, for in the Bishop's mind:

They had been badly prepared to receive it, all having been occupied, up to the moment of our arrival, in a national festival, which was to end that same night with a feast and a dance. (I, p. 140.)

The following afternoon Father Romagne, who had met the Bishop when the latter arrived in the village, heard the confessions of the Indians, the festival having in no way interfered with the devotion of the people:

This village, like that of Sainte-Anne, is remarkable for sobriety, of which the other savage nations furnish few examples. (I, p. 142.)

The State of Massachusetts was at this time paying to Father Romagne a yearly salary of about 350 piastres, because of his labor among the Indians. On the last day of August, the Bishop and his priests celebrated mass, and having said the office of the day, confirmation was conferred, after which Father Romagne spoke to the people in their own language. During the afternoon the episcopal party departed from the village and boarded the *Minerva* for Boston. On the fourth day the party arrived in Boston and expressed their surprise at the view of the city which arose before them. They at once went to pay their respects to Bishop Cheverus. Plessis wrote in a tone of wonder, on beholding the changed attitude towards Catholics in Boston:

The city of all America the most opposed to Catholicism, where every year in the month of November, they believed it to be an act of religion to burn the pope in effigy . . . these follies have ceased. Some respectable Irish Catholics have become citizens of this city . . . they are free to follow whatever cult they please, the spirit of persecution and fanaticism is lost. A certain French priest by the name of Poterie arrived in this city and gathered about him some French and Irish families whom he found there, and set himself up as their pastor. He purchased an abandoned edifice, which had sometimes served as a temple for the French Hugenots. It was here that the Abbe Poterie commenced to exercise his functions after having

given to the church the name of Holy Cross, without having asked for powers from Father Carroll, the ex-Jesuit of Baltimore, who had been appointed Prefect Apostolic for the United States. It is probable that the Abbé Potierie did not know of this, because the Holy See had but recently established it. But he certainly knew that he was not able to set up this mission of himself, and he did not need to be informed that there was somebody from whom he must draw his power. Quomodo Praedicant, nisi mittantur? This was in 1787. (I, p. 147.)

The story of the departure of Poterie for Canada and his stay there is then portrayed. The Bishop then goes on with the early history of Boston:

There appeared, then, another intruder, Abbé Rousselet who put himself in possession of the Church in Boston . . . the prefect of Baltimore was at length informed of what was going on. He had sent M. Thayer, recently arrived from Europe, who had been born in Boston and was brought up in the principles of Puritanism (there then follows a long account of the conversation of Thayer and the struggle between himself and Rousselet in Boston). Father Carroll became Bishop in 1791. He received the following year, M. de Matignon, a doctor of Navarre, and decided to send him to Boston to denounce M. Rousselet, charging him to denounce him to the people for what he was. The Abbé Matignon arrived and communicated to him (Rousselet) the orders he carried and begged him not to put him to the necessity of publishing them. Rousselet accepted in good part and retired to the Islands of the Gulf of Mexico, where he later died on the guillotine after having prepared for death in a very edifying manner. (I, p. 149.)

One section of the above quotation is not true to fact. Bishop Carroll suspended Rousselet in 1791 and made a personal visit to Boston in that same year. In the Massachusetts capital the Bishop was well received and succeeded in settling the strife between the two factions. Rousselet had most probably left Boston before Abbé Matignon arrived there in 1792. The journal continues:

M. Thayer remained one year with M. Matignon, after which he went to occupy diverse places in the State of New York, in Baltimore, in England and finally in Limerick, in Ireland, where he died in February last, having always kept high his piety and zeal, but having no ability to settle down. (I, p. 150.)

M. Cheverus has come to join Doctor Matignon, and the two worked with zeal and success to advance the work of God in the City of Boston and the vicinity. Providence fructified their labors. With but few resources they were able to acquire in the center of the city a large plot, on which they have built in brick a beautiful church which cost more than 20,000 piastres. It was consecrated by the Bishop of Baltimore on September 29, 1803, under the name of Holy

Cross. A short time after, they acquired a lot adjoining the first, which furnished a house for the two of them. (I, p. 150.)

The journal continues with a narrative of the division of the Diocese of Baltimore and the nomination of Egan, Concanen, Flaget and Cheverus. Bishop Concanen was consecrated in Rome and set out for America. Arriving in Naples, he was unable to secure passage to America, due to the Neapoleanic blockade. He died after a short imprisonment in that city. Before death the newly consecrated Bishop had sent copies of the briefs of the other three nominees to M. Emery, who in turn forwarded them to America. The three Bishops were consecrated in October and November of the year 1810. Returning to the story of Boston, Plessis continues:

Msgr. Cheverus returned to Boston not at all changed in his manner of life, and continued to fulfill, as he had done heretofore, all the duties of a pastor and a missionary, always in perfect harmony with Doctor Matignon. (I, p. 152.)

It was the intention of Bishop Plessis to return at once to Quebec, but he was persuaded to visit New York. Father Matignon accompanied the episcopal party for the rest of the tour. On the morning of the seventh of September, Bishops Cheverus and Plessis made a few calls before the latter left the city. In relating these visits he says in part:

At breakfast we had the pleasure of the Abbé Brosius' company, a priest of Luxenbourg, who, with Fathers Romagne and Matignon, forms the entire clergy of Boston. This Abbé Brosius is of no help to the others in the ministry because of infirmities which he contracted during eight or nine years during which time he exercised his ministry with much success and edification in the diocese of Baltimore. He is obliged to teach mathematics, in which he is well versed, in the vicinity of the University of Cambridge. He has rented a beautiful large mansion, the property of the Vice-President of the United States . . . in a word he is one of those rare men who know how to win and to maintain the favor of all those with whom he comes in contact. (I, p. 150.)

The trip from Boston through Worcester and Hartford to New Haven drew no comment concerning religion. At New Haven the party proceeded to New York by boat. On arriving there:

The first care of the Bishop was to send Messrs. Matignon and Boucherville to look for a good hotel. The latter was acquainted with a young merchant of the city named Willcox; the other had known for a long time, the father-in-law of M. Andrew Morris, the richest Catholic in New York, who is zealous for the good of the community, one of the trustees of the two churches, St. Peter's and

St. Paul's. The only one of his faith, who was at this time a member of the House of Representatives of the State of New York. . . . . they came to the Town Hall where M. Boucherville awaited them and where Father Fenwick, the Jesuit, had come to join them. . . . There are in the City of New York alone 15,000 Catholics cared for by three Jesuits; namely, Fathers Malou, Fenwick and Ranza. The Bishops of the Province assembled in Baltimore in 1810 and informed of the Death of Bishops Concanen, unanimously appointed Father Kohlmann to administer the diocese of New York during the vacancy of the See. This one has been called by his superiors to be placed at the head of the novitiate at Georgetown, leaving the administration to Father Fenwick, the superior of the house in New York, although he is the younger of his two confreres. (Plessis here questions the validity of this transfer of administrative power and then proceeds.) The Sovereign Pontiff has answered by the nomination of Bishop Connolly, an Irish Dominican like his predecessor, and living at Rome for 37 years. They know indirectly that he was consecrated in the autumn of 1814 and that from Rome he went to Ireland. Of the rest they do not know if he intends to come and take possession of his church, where many things are in suspense, no other prelate caring to interfere in the affairs of a see, which has a head named and known. Those of the diocese show a little ill humor at the slowness of their new Bishop. Some likewise have started to say that they would leave if he does not come. At least it is hoped that if he does come, they will conduct themselves better toward him, than was done by those of Philadelphia toward their first Bishop, Mgr. Egan, who died last winter of sadness that there was directed at him the evil actions of the faithful confided to his care.

Before now there has been but one Church for the Catholics, that of St. Peter, situated in the center of the city. Convinced of its incapacity, they undertook last year to construct another on the Bowery, that is to say, on the opposite extremity of the city. It has already cost 90,000 piastres . . . this church was consecrated last year in May, by the Bishop of Boston, under the name of St. Patrick. It is destined to be the Cathedral of the Bishop . . . the construction of the church of St. Patrick has put the Jesuits to the necessity of doubling their divine offices. They say each Sunday a high and a low mass here as well as at St. Peter's, and since there are only three of them, it is necessary for one of them to binate in his turn. Father Malou was already old when he came from Flanders, his native land, and Father Ranza is German. Neither the one nor the other is able to preach in English, so that all the duty of preaching falls upon Father Fenwick, who was born in America. These priests occupy a house midway between the two churches, about a mile from each. The Bishop of Quebec went to visit the Jesuit college, formerly occupied and abandoned by the Trappists. (I, p. 159 ff.)

On the seventh of September the Bishop and his companions sailed up the Hudson, making no mention of any religious institu-

tions until they passed Albany, concerning which town the Bishop wrote:

There is a Catholic congregation here, at the head of which is an Irish priest by the name of McQuade. Because of the strong action of the trustees or parishioners, he voluntarily left his place for a mission in the diocese of Quebec. (I, p. 163.)

When they arrived at Burlington they found a number of Catholics who had not been visited by any priest for a number of years. The Bishop asked Father Matignon to return to Boston by this way and give them the benefit of a mission. Being subject to the Diocese of Boston, Father Matignon did stop on his return. (P. 169.)

The year following this tour of New England and New York, Bishop Plessis set out for a visitation of the western part of his diocese hoping to meet Bishop Flaget, as he remarked in the first part of the journal. The two Bishops did not meet during this journey, but a great deal is related of Father Richard and the Church in Detroit, where Bishop Plessis conferred the Sacrament of Confirmation. In his description of the city, when he first arrived, the Bishop says in part:

One of these homes is occupied by Father Richard, a priest of the Congregation of St. Sulpice, who is the missionary or pastor of all that part from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario, under the authority of the Bishop of Bardstown. (II, p. 41.)

Mention is made that in 1795, when this territory was ceded to the United States, the Bishop of Quebec withdrew all his priests who were in that section of the field. The account continues:

The Bishop of Baltimore, charged by the Holy See with the spiritual government of all the United States, sent to Detroit three priests, all Sulpicians, namely, Fathers Levadoux, Richard and Dilhet, who left France at the time of the Revolution. Fathers Levadoux and Dilhet retired some years ago, leaving only Father Richard, who from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Baltimore, passed in 1810, under that of the first Bishop of Bardstown, which diocese embraces all this section as a part of the district of Michigan. The City of Detroit having undergone a general fire in 1805, the Church of St. Anne and its presbytery were consumed, like all the other buildings. When it was necessary to rebuild, the parishioners were not in accord and they feared a little to build a church in a city where already the number of Protestants far exceeded the Catholics. They divided themselves into two parishes, the one situated in the North-east side in a place two or three miles from the city, the other about a half a league outside. (II, p. 42.)

There follows some account of the trouble that was started by these two factions and the misunderstandings that were a source of bitterness for the pastor. Of him personally we read:

This ecclesiastic is, however, perfectly estimable for his regularity, for his variety of knowledge, and above all for an activity of which it is difficult to form an idea. He has the ability to do ten entirely different things at the same time. (II, p. 43.)

A few of the various duties which this priest took upon himself are then enumerated, and are of such diverse occupations as the control of a newspaper, tending to his garden, exercising the spiritual affairs of his ministry and teaching plain chant to the children of his school.

This is an abridged portrait of the extraordinary man, who was extremely kind to the Bishop of Quebec and his companions, but having behind him the great majority of parishioners entirely decided against him, and many of them in their self conceit and frenzy would prefer to live without a priest than to keep him. (II, p. 44.)

The Bishop spent a week in Detroit and the neighborhood and was well received both privately and by public demonstrations of welcome and honor. On Sunday, the 28th of June, he writes:

This is the day on which the Bishop of Quebec had engaged to cross over to Detroit, to give confirmation to the parishioners of Father Richard, united in the Chapel of the North-east. The Bishop and his assistants went to the high mass, at the close of which 150 or 200 persons had the happiness of receiving the sacrament. (II, p. 53.)

Some days before this the Bishop had received a petition from the people for a church and complaining against the pastor. After Confirmation the Bishop spoke on this subject, urging them to unite and impressing on them that it was with permission of the Bishop of Bardstown that he was there and that their Bishop was the chief pastor, who had received from God the power of governing the Catholic Church in those parts.

Summary

The twelve authors we have chosen for treatment in this division furnish us with abundant material for Church history, although it is not of great importance. The Church in the United States was at this time beginning to show itself, it was an evident entity in the life of America, and could hardly be overlooked by the traveler. The authors in this period were more elaborate in their comment on the

Church than were those of the previous period. Praise for the work of the Church is more frequent. The number and extent of Catholic activities do not greatly differ from those of the first period. Maryland and Baltimore in particular are still the central points about which most of the comment centers, as they were the centers of Catholic activity in the United States. Nothing of great value is mentioned about Baltimore by any of the travelers who visited the city. Philadelphia does not fare well at the hands of the disappointed Catholic, Moreau de Saint Mery, but his writings give us a clear insight into the conditions under which the Church in that section was suffering. The Catholicity of the Indians is touched upon by Bishop Plessis, Edward Kendall and de Rochemont. In this regard the same praise for the work accomplished accompanies the comments. Boston evidences a rapid growth. The description of this metropolis, but a short time before, the most Puritanical of cities, is surprising. Detroit receives frequent mention, although at this time there was little constructive activity of any import by Catholics in that city. The Gallipolis project is given full and valuable treatment by the Irishman, Thomas Ashe. New York City and New Orleans occasion a few passing comments. The absolute silence in respect to Catholicism, by the number of travelers who sailed up the Mississippi, is noticeable. Few persons are commented upon in this period. Charles Carroll, who was the outstanding figure in American life during a part of this period, receives the highest praise from all who met him. From none does he receive higher admiration than from John Bernard, whose appreciation of the signer could hardly be surpassed. The few priests of the Dioceses of Boston and New York are mentioned by name in the journal of Bishop Plessis. This account by the Bishop of Quebec is the most valuable of those we have here considered, tracing as it does the history of the Diocese of Boston, from the first resident priest in that city until 1815; portraying the condition of the Diocese of New York just previous to the arrival of Bishop Connolly; and giving a glimpse into the troubles of the Church in Detroit in 1816.

As has been said in regard to the first period, there is nothing here that is new, yet the conditions here put forth are an aid to understanding the different problems in the Church history of this period.

(To be continued.)

REV. JOSEPH PAUL RYAN, A. F. M.

Maryknoll.

JOHN ENGLAND[1]

It is a rare achievement in authorship for an intensely busy man to produce within a lustrum two biographical works of ponderous content that evidence exceptional scholarship. This has been accomplished by Dr. Guilday. *The Life and Times of John Carroll,* published five years ago, was acclaimed as the most notable contribution to American Church history since the publication of John Gilmary Shea's, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* nearly fifty years ago. *The Life and Times of John England* is a work evincing even greater research and more profound study than *The Life and Times of John Carroll.* That it will evoke even acrid criticism is beyond question; that it will be inadequately evaluated may be surmised; that it will revive dormant antipathies, may be predicated as a certainty. Despite these forebodings, *The Life and Times of John England* must be rated as being no conventional biography, for apotheosis yields place to humanization and documents are the warp and woof of a remarkable synthesis. Dr. Guilday is critical at times, but not of men or motives. His statements are buttressed with evidence. The reviewer, however (a fellow-laborer in the same academic field, whose harvests are often scant), has put interrogation marks to some of his conclusions.

The field of American Church History is only partically explored. Dr. Guilday has blazed new trails and opened larger vistas for the student. Yet much remains to be done. Only by co-ordination of individual efforts and the adoption of a wider outlook can we secure an adequate conspectus of all that the term American Church History connotes, and, inferentially, a correct appraisal of the vast heritage which has come to us from lands across the Atlantic that have so generously contributed to the upbuilding of the fabric of Catholicism in English-speaking America. Dr. Guilday has demonstrated how important it is to obtain accurate knowledge (not information) of persons, places, and conditions in the countries whence came to American shores the men who planted the seed which has germinated and fructified into goodly harvests.

It is not generally known, perhaps, that in two earlier volumes, *The Norfolk Schism,* and *The Church in Virginia,* he gave us the

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[1] *The Life and Times of John England, First Bishop of Charleston* (1786-1842). By Peter Guilday. New York: The America Press, 1927. Two volumes. Pp. xii+596, 577. Frontispiece and Index.

prologue to his *magnum opus* whose *raison d'être* is found in the following: "Owing to the scattered and unorganized condition of our archival sources, the more prudent method (as the norm of the historical explanation of the one hundred and forty years of the established hierarchical life in this country) is to center around the great figures in our Church the story of their times, with the hope that, as the years pass, our documentary knowledge will be increased and the institutional factors of our Catholic life become more salient and tangible." Hence the work on John England, for owing to the "peculiar conditions prevailing at the time both within and without the Church, everything he did assumed national importance."

Ireland, in common with France, sent in the early days many distinguished "personalities" to the Western world, not all of them to the American mainland; Burke, O'Donnell, Fleming, Mullock, some of whom were contemporaries of John England. Burke, not unlike England in his attitude towards fellow-laborers of French nationality, has been the subject of a *dissertatio contentiosa* in a volume of "Memoirs" compiled by a former prelate whose literary indiscretions were notorious, historically and otherwise. O'Donnell's career was unique in many respects; he is the only instance, as far as is known, of a Catholic colonial bishop who received a pension from the British Government; Fleming caused the passing into innocuous desuetude of the infamous penal laws which the fanatical Palliser rigidly enforced in England's oldest colony, and left behind him the most distinctively Celtic Church in North America—the largest in point of size (except Notre Dame, in Montreal) north of the Rio Grande. It will interest New Yorkers possibly to learn that it was while assisting as one of the consecrators of this noble edifice that the great John Hughes got the inspiration to build St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York City. Mullock, "the intellectual giant," militant, too, in an ecclesiastical sense, was the greatest "Home Ruler" who ever adorned an American episcopal see and to him, in addition to its system of denominational education, Newfoundland owes in a large measure its charter of Responsible Government from which emanated what has been not inaptly termed the "Magna Charta of British Dominions beyond the Seas." Readers of Dr. Guilday's lengthy discussion of the fanatical Samuel Morse, of telegraph fame, may be surprised to know that the idea of a trans-Atlantic cable emanated from the fertile brain of the great Catholic Bishop, John Thomas Mullock.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi; sed omnes illacrimabiles
Urguentur ignotique longa
Nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

When John England entered upon his episcopal career in the United States his lines had not fallen in pleasant places; he came to a heritage that was heavily encumbered, for from 1815 to 1820 there were many dissensions in the nascent Church, which had become "a veritable epidemic of misrule," for in the years immediately following the death of the apostolic John Carroll "new and variant elements had arisen to place and preferment in the Church. Party feelings and racial discord had become vocal, and the building of the House of God in the six dioceses of the United States was kept almost at a standstill."

Archbishop Maréchal, who occupied the see of Baltimore, when Bishop England came to Charleston, in a *Report* to the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide (October 16, 1818) stated the lamentable condition of the Church. He was convinced that the root of the evil lay in the rebellious attitude of individual Irish priests whom he mentions by name:

Non Americani, non Angli, non aliarum Europeanorum gentium advenae, pacem perturbarunt aut perturbant, Carolopoli, Norfolkio, Philadelphiae, etc., sed sacerdotes Hiberni intemperantiae aut ambitioni dediti, una cum contribulibus suis, quos innumeris artibus sibi devinciunt.

Bishop Plessis of Quebec, who had been sent by the Holy See as Apostolic Delegate to the United States, reported as follows:

Je crois aussi de mon devoir de réitérer a Vôtre Eminence (Cardinal Fontana) que les Catholiques des Etats-Unis ont, en general, beaucoup de respect et d'affection pour leurs êveques français, et que s'il y a des plaintes contre cette nation, elles sont sucitées per des moines irlandais, vagabonds, ambitieux, qui pour le malheur de ces diocèses, voudraient y occuper les premières places.

Dr. Guilday says of the *Reports* of Maréchal and Plessis: "While the sincerity of their authors is beyond question, it must be remembered that Maréchal and Plessis displayed in this correspondence a strong anti-Irish bias." By way of offsetting this, there is introduced a lengthy document, from the Dominican archives of Tallaght, near Dublin, written by Father William Vincent Harold, O. P., in Rome, about the end of the year 1820. It should be noted here that Father Harold in later years was a disturber of the peace in the Church at Philadelphia, and appealed to Henry Clay, the Secretary of State,

against commands from Rome and the Vicar-General of the Dominicans. To vindicate his attitude "he pointed out that he had a precedent for his action in the appeal made by the Jesuit Superior of the State Department in 1824 against the decision of the Holy See in regard to the Society's property at Whitemarsh."

Father Harold's document criticizes the clergy (of Baltimore) as "being engaged mostly in teaching in the colleges of Baltimore and Georgetown, and stigmatizes 'the remainder of the clergy of that See who were for the most part stationed on the estates belonging to the incorporated clergy of Maryland, which are of considerable extent, and were cultivated by slaves.' Then follows the statement Harold once made to Dr. Carroll on this subject, and it was not well received, namely, that priests 'when appointed to superintend these estates and direct the labor of these slaves degenerate into mere farmers.'" Here it may be noted that similar charges had been made three decades before by Rev. Patrick Smyth in *The Present State of the Catholic Missions conducted by the ex-Jesuits in North America*, published in Dublin, 1788. The Harold document has much to say about another cause of dissension in the Church in the United States—Trusteeism, from which developed the spirit of Gallicanism. Moreover, there were other causes: "The relations between Rome and Baltimore were strained at the time" and "the selection of the bishops for Philadelphia, Richmond and Charleston found Maréchal and Cheverus *glacés d'effci* at what they felt a dangerous precedent on the part of Rome" (p. 29). "That the action of the Sacred Congregation in ignoring the candidates presented by the American bishops for the Sees of Philadelphia and Charleston in 1820, and in appointing to these Sees bishops who could not have known American conditions, struck Maréchal and his suffragans with fear and led them to believe that the American Church was the victim of a foreign conspiracy, no one who has read the documents can deny" (p. 31).

Why was John England appointed to the See of Charleston? He was a prominent figure in Irish life, notably in opposition to the Veto; "the documentary evidence for his prominence in the great fight is indeed scanty" yet "tradition remains that his influence in Ireland was second only to that of Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator." Is this statement of Coppinger an explanation?

> He (England) had been editor of an influential Cork paper, and conducted it with great patriotic spirit and ability. The hierarchy rather feared his influence and views, which were decidedly democratic, and a memorial, signed by nearly all the Bishops in Ireland, was sent to Rome praying his Holiness to appoint him to some vacant

foreign See. Some of the episcopal body seemed to fear that on the death of the Bishop of Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, and whether truly or falsely, he was suspected to have been tinged with revolutionary principles. (Page 123.)

When Bishop England came to Charleston the Southland was in a very disturbed condition. The diocese had been created largely at the instance of Archbishop Maréchal "as the best way to settle all the troubles in the old southern city." These troubles are minutely detailed by Dr. Guilday and cover nearly one hundred and fifty pages of his volume. "The real danger, however, arose when factions from New York to Savannah sought to form a racial coalition for the purpose of forcing the trustee principles upon the American bishops of the day through civil legislation. Failing in this, they were planning at the time of Archbishop Maréchal's accession to the See of Baltimore to secede from the jurisdiction of the American hierarchy and to set up for themselves under schismatic bishops an independent American Catholic Church of their own creation."

The Catholic Church in the United States has often been disturbed by this spirit of racial trouble. In many of the difficulties that have arisen since the organization of its hierarchical life, racian antagonisms have been present. Apparently, throughout much of this period one race has predominated in point of numbers and in point of representatives in the Sees of this country; and those who have broken with central diocesan rule have often made the claim that it has been the inability of the influential class in the hierarchy to understand certain insurmountable racial sentiments and policies which caused them to set up independent churches. It is highly significant, therefore, to witness in these early days of our organized Catholic life the fact that it was the same spirit of unrest over what was claimed to be a delicate ignoring on the part of the Holy See of the Irish element in the affairs of the Church, which brought the discipline of the clergy and laity to so dangerous a pass.

The Irish Catholics, cleric and lay, who came to the United States during the period previous to 1815, apparently came with certain prejudices regarding Church administration (p. 164).

Charges had been made by such individuals as Smyth (mentioned above) that were "bound to create animosity between the priests who had borne the burden of the day and the heats for so many years, and the bustling and somewhat arrogant type of clergymen who came here to enjoy a liberty in some cases a license which Ireland did not afford." When the Sulpicians came to the United States "the feeling of animosity was diverted from the former members of the Society of Jesus to these French clerics, so many of whom rose to episcopal honors after 1808. . . . The Irish clergy did not

consider it blameworthy to promote the idea that the future of the American Church was in danger with so many 'foreigners' in the seats of the mighty." The antipathy to these "foreigners" was very pronounced, and Dr. Guilday says: "The absence of certain failings, political and moral, among the French clergy, placed their priestly lives in contrast with too many of their clerical brethren from the Emerald Isle" (p. 166).

The story of the divisions and scandals in Charleston before the arrival of Bishop England is neither edifying nor pertinent to this brief survey; nor is it necessary to discuss the conspiracy to organize "The Independent Catholic Church of the United States!"

He was fully aware of the difficulties confronting him and "of the complexity of the struggle between the episcopal authority of Baltimore and this far-distant congregation." His first official act was the issuance of a Pastoral—the first of its kind in the history of the American Church." In the following year (1821) Bishop England "decided to publish a *Catechism* for his own diocese. Owing to 'peculiar circumstances' he added a question on religious toleration. Both Bishop David and Bishop Conwell criticized him to Maréchal for bringing out the new catechism. No copy of the England Catechism was found, and it is surmised it was not successful" (p. 314). This is an apparently trifling incident, but to the reviewer it has portentous implications. Then followed an episode "which caused a flurry in the ecclesiastical circles of Rome for a time"—the appearance of the *Roman Missal* which Bishop England published in New York some time during the summer of 1822. The Sacred Congregation had understood it was to be a *translation* and not (as it really was) a reprint.

Realizing the omnipotence of the press in the United States, Bishop England informed Cardinal Fontana (May, 1822), that "he intended very shortly to begin the publication of a weekly newspaper of eight pages for the dissemination of Catholic truth. In case Cardinal Fontana wished him to refrain from using the power of the press for the sake of the Church, he would never write again—*'liberavi animam meam: vos videritis.'* Dr. England was beginning to feel the effect of the secret opposition of Maréchal and some of the other bishops to his projects, and if it would ease the minds of his colleagues, Cardinal Fontana was informed that his resignation was at his disposal" (p. 331).

The Bishop's next project was the establishment of a Diocesan Seminary—a huge undertaking that met with meager success. This was followed by a "Constitution of the Diocese," which met with

opposition on the part of the prelates of Philadelphia, Bardstown and Baltimore. Dr. Guilday says:

An echo of this can be seen in Maréchal's letter to Cardinal della Somaglia, dated Baltimore, December 21, 1824, where he writes: *"Rumor vagatur Illmum D. England Episcopum Carolopoleos condidisse constitutionem democraticum, juxta quam intendit ecclesias suae dioceseos regere; atque eam misisse ad Sacram Congregationem ut abipsa approbetur. Quibusnam principiis nitatur, nescio. Attamen non possum satis orare sanctissimos et emintissimos patres ut hanc constitutionem democraticam non approbent, nisi lente admodum et post valde maturum examen. Exhibitur namque quasi multum opposita bono et prosperitati ecclesiae"* (p. 351).

There is no satisfactory evidence that Rome ever approved this "Constitution," which, briefly, meant the organization of the diocese into a "house of laity" and a "house of clergy," or an adaptation of "democracy" to Church government. In Section 1 of this Constitution occurs a clause on Papal Infallibility, which has been interpreted in terms of Gallicanism. Bishop Maes (former Bishop of Covington, Ky.), in an article "Le Catholicisme aux Etats-Unis" (Le *Correspondent,* vol. 250, pp. 11 ss.), makes this charge. So does Brownson, in *Brownson's Quarterly Review,* vol. iv (1850).

Meanwhile in furtherance of his program he was now militantly engaged in the field of journalism, having launched the *United States Catholic Miscellany* June 5, 1822, the object of which was "to supply an apparent want in the United States of North America." It met with a frigid reception on the part of his episcopal brethren, but it was a powerful agency in the dissemination of Catholic truth. Says Dr. Guilday: "Had John England done nothing else, he would have contributed more than any Catholic of his day to the general education of the American public in the fundamental principle of religious equality."

Bishop England's activities (unfortunately perhaps for both himself and the spiritual charge committed to his care) extended beyond the limits of his diocese, and we find him attempting to bring order out of the chaos consequent upon the Hogan schism in Philadelphia and the unseemly ecclesiastical brawls in New York. His intrusion into these issues brought no satisfactory results. "From the vantage point of a century (says Dr. Guilday) Bishop England's part in the trustee troubles appears foolhardy, unless it be judged in the light of a Christ-like zeal for the good of Catholicism" (p. 433).

With the passing years murky clouds of disappointment and disillusion lowered ominously on John England's episcopal horizon. Few gleams of sunshine came to make him less forlorn. Not only was he

at grips with his Metropolitan, but in open conflict with an Institution which has been nursery of the Catholic priesthood in the United States. He insisted with what we dare term intemperate zeal upon the absolute necessity of a native clergy and an establishment for their training. In this Bishop England differed from some of his Celtic brethern in the episcopate elsewhere, one of whom is on record as the author of the following: "While there are so many colleges in Ireland, France and Rome, we ought not to think of creating an institution calculated to foment divisions between natives and colonists." He not only discouraged native vocations to the priesthood but raised a barrier against the admission of some excellent young women into a religious community in his diocese.

Bishop England "exhibited a firm resolve not to permit the young aspirants of his diocese to be educated under French influence." This of course applied to St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, with which the spiritual sons of John Jacques Oliver have been identified since that distant day when Pius V said to Father Emery (who was about to withdraw the Sulpicians from Baltimore): "My Son, let that Seminary stand; it will bear fruit in due time." The fruits that it has borne are abundant.

Bishop England's excursus into the religious affairs of Florida (of which State he became Vicar-General) was not attended with any success, "the trustees of the Church in St. Augustine refusing to recognize Bishop England's jurisdiction."

There were likewise other fields in which Bishop England's energies found expression—controversy and diplomacy. In the former, mainly through the *Miscellany,* he attained distinction; in the latter he was an egregious failure. His public utterances (and they were many) were eloquent, and he seems to have had exceptional ability to command the "applause of listening senates." The best known of these utterances is his famous address before both houses of Congress on Sunday, January 8, 1826, when he delivered an oration that lasted for two hours and a half on the foundations of Catholic Faith and wove into it a refutation of an attack on the Catholic Church made some years before by John Quincy Adams, who was then President and who was present. Bishop England's venture into the "realm of diplomacy" was disastrous. Dr. Guilday states: "The Apostolic Delegation to the Republic of Haiti was Dr. England's outstanding failure. . . . It had not only brought no peace to the Church in Haiti but had accentuated the Gallican stand of the Government in its attitude towards the Catholic religion." The fact is that it had borne serious results. There is testimony to the effect that England

"had erred badly in handling not only the problem itself but the persons and the details connected with it."

A further instance of lack of judgment on the part of Bishop England is found in the selection of Bishop Clancy as coadjutor. "This appointment (says Dr. Guilday) was the least fortunate of all Bishop England's acts." The coadjutor had a rather kaleidoscopic career, ending ecclesiastically as Bishop of Demerara, in the West Indies. He was deposed by the Holy See and died in Cork on June 19, 1847.

Many readers of Dr. Guilday's erudite volumes will possibly be chiefly interested in the historic events crowded within the years covering John England's episcopate since they are of prime importance to the student of American Church History whilst John England's activities, with certain exceptions, left little impress upon American Catholic life. He lived here barely twenty years, and most of his projects collapsed at his death. It is futile to speculate on things that belong to the domain of probabilities if England had been "in one of the larger cities, or better still, had he succeeded Maréchal or Whitfield in the Metropolitan See of Baltimore."

The limits set to the writer preclude the discussion of England's connection with the holding of Provincial Councils, his educational program, and other things of importance. These will presently be dealt with elsewhere. A fitting conclusion to this brief review is furnished by the editor of *America*, who says "There is a deep note of tragedy in these volumes, and the reader closes them asking, as often England did himself, whether his life was not after all a failure." The saying of one who, like the Bishop of Charleston, had a somewhat militant career, ecclesiastically, seems apposite as an *envoi:*

"Heureux l'homme quand il n'a pas les défauts de ses qualités."

P. W. Browne.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK IN OHIO

This must be a plain unvarnished tale. It were difficult to heroize George Rogers Clark. Children seem to have the final vote in the election of heroes. Now, let them know that Clark in his old age wore a wooden leg—well, that might not be so bad; and that he smoked—even that might pass; but add that he was unable to restrain his appetite for strong drink: then, presto, his name is erased from among the candidates for Valhalla, and the vote is final. The world accepts the verdict of the truthful heart of childhood; for the world, after all, is merely those same children, grown up, with minds distracted by a thousand cares, yet at bottom still true in its judgments of high merit and of blame. There can be no attempt under these circumstances to apotheosize General Clark.

Yet he undoubtedly deserves well of America. It has been given to very few to accomplish such important, permanently priceless deeds for the nation. He deserves to be called the Washington of the West. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, Michigan, Wisconsin, and to some extent Minnesota, are indebted to him for their union to the original American states. Without this link, the entire Trans-Mississippi could scarcely have found its way into the American nation. Clark's achievement can never be omitted in the story of the national expansion.

The nation has not been ungrateful. Nations are not things of a day, and they expect not momentary but almost eternal endurance of those who are to secure their plaudits. Clark started out to be a hero. He sulked in his tent before the test of his worthiness was over. Perhaps the nation was asking something superhuman of him. This seems to have been the case. But there have been heroes who have done superhuman things. This 150th anniversary would have been a much greater affair, and would have been a large part of the nation's payment, had Clark measured up to superhuman stature.

George Rogers Clark, the son of John Clark and Ann Rogers, was born in old Virginia in 1752 just when the cradles of that colony were producing giants. He felt the call of the wild and went over the Alleghanies into the Ohio Country before the attainment of his majority. If he went into the west with any idea of avoiding, as a quiet surveyor, the trouble that was already brewing between the liberty-loving people of his piedmont Virginia and the royalists of the tide water sections, he took the wrong direction.

Matters of mighty moment were in the lap of the gods concerning the Ohio Country just at the hour of his arrival and he was to be the instrument of fate for their fulfillment.

Ohio writers complain, with some appearance of justice, that the general historians of the United States have been largely Eastern men, and that few of them "are tall enough to look over the Appallachian range to learn what has happened on the other side." Ohio historians claim that the War for American Independence began in 1774 in Ohio, and ended in 1794, after twenty years of uninterrupted struggle, in the same commonwealth. They hold that the Ohio Declaration of Independence antedates not only that of Philadelphia but that claimed for Mechlenberg, North Carolina, as well. They maintain that the greatest disaster of the Revolutionary struggle was not that attendant on Washington's withdrawal from Long Island but the terrible defeat of General St. Clair in Ohio, where the killed, the wounded, and the prisoners, surpassed in numbers, as well as in the frightfulness endured by them, the better-known New York debacle.

There is no need of taking these Ohio complainants more seriously than they take themselves. There is no need, for instance, that the Eastern historians crane their necks to so towering an altitude that they may be able to behold the lands beyond the mountains; nor need it be thought that the Ohio Declaration of Independence has anything of the historical magnitude of the Philadelphia pronouncement. Yet it was not without import, and, as Clark here begins his military career, a brief outline of the facts are in place.

In the August of 1774 Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, organized an army 3,000 strong, with the purpose of chastizing the Shawnee tribes on the Scioto River in Central Ohio. Clark was a scout in Dunmore's division of the expedition, and he thus had an opportunity to see a large section of Ohio, and at a season of the year, the fall, when, excepting man, everything thereabout was a spectacle of entrancing beauty. Interminable forests of oak, beech, chestnut, walnut, sycamore and tulip trees; the river valley lined with buckeye, papaw, willow, haws, and wild plum; vines, purple with wild grapes festoon the tallest branches; flocks of wild turkeys enliven the trails, while the scarlet tanager, the red bird, the blue bird, and the yellow hammer bespangle the groves with color. Here a drove of deer comes down to the water's edge to drink, while far away the last scant buffaloes fly from the arrows of the pursuing native. The atmosphere is balmy; the soil is fertile; and

beneath the earth, scarcely hidden from the keen eyes of such as Clark, oil, and iron, and coal, show signs of presence in abundance.

The army advanced into the very heart of the State, but a treaty of peace was drawn up with the savage chiefs—with all except Logan, chief of the Mingoes—assembled about three miles south of the present Circleville in Pickaway County. Returning to the Ohio, news reached the troops, while they were resting at Fort Gower at the mouth of the Hocking River in Athens County, that the Conotinental Congress was assembling at Philadelphia, whereat they at once drew up a set of resolutions. They declared that they would suport the honor and the crown of the British Empire; "but" they added "as the love of liberty and attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweighs every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defense of American liberty." It were not difficult to imagine the woods of Ohio still ringing with the echo of that fine appreciation of American liberty. Clark, so far as we know, had only an inconspicuous part in this remarkable affair, but it was something to have been present on so momentous an occasion.

He was more intimately associated with Ohio's history in his next adventure. There was no such place as Ohio at the period under consideration. There was an Ohio River, and the region along its course to the north, but more frequently that to the south, was known as the Ohio country. Clark was among the leaders of those who organized a Virginia county with the name Kentucky. The same territory is now the state of Kentucky. By so doing he contributed to the focussing of the name Ohio on the section north of the river; by segregating or isolating Kentucky, he gave the present Ohio its enduring designation.

Nothing is to be said in this paper of the well-known successes of Clark's stategy, resulting in the capture in Illinois of Fort Gage and Kaskaskia with the British commandant Rochblave, or of the taking of Fort Sackville and Vincennes with Governor Hamilton, the "hair-buyer", in Indiana. Yet it will be worth while to call attention to the fact that these events occurred in Quebec. The famous Quebec Act of 1774 extended the Canadian Province of Quebec south and west to the Ohio and the Mississippi Rivers so as to include the whole section known subsequently as the Northwest Territiry. Till the coming of Clark, Kaskaskia was in Quebec, and Vincennes was likewise in Quebec.

It is the hope of this paper that it may nominate a site in Ohio that should be linked in the *trinum perfectum* with Kaskaskia and

Vincennes, the pioneer centers of the two others of the triplet states, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. Hitherto no spot has been pointed out in Ohio on which, as in Kaskaskia, Illinois, and Vincennes, Indiana, religion had lighted her holy fires, and about which war-fiends hover on dark and blood-dripping pinions. Let us see whether there is not in truth such a place.

The poets often remind us that there are dark lonesome places upon the earth—a fact the early immigrants into the west knew by frequent experience; but the sacred writings with kindlier outlook tell us that there are likewise Bethels here below, where angels descend the stairs that lead to and fro, from their home of bliss even down to the abodes of men. Surely the chapel of St. Francis Xavier at Vincennes, and the beautiful minster of the Immaculate Conception at Kaskaskia were bright Bethels in the deep dark night of the great western wilderness. Was there not some spot in Ohio similarly blessed?

Almost two generations after the period of this narrative, a group of simple children of the faith trecked their way from east to west across the still pioneer Ohio, and there at the headquarters of the Great Miami where the portage to the Maumee begins, they staked out their homes and founded the town over which the bells from St. Michael's towers, for almost a century now, have regulated all the important comings and goings of their numerous descendants. The colony had not been long upon the scene when rumors of the finding of a golden cross near by, and presently the actual plowing up of a large silver cross by one of their own number brought them to suspect that they were dwelling on holy ground. This place was once known as Loramie's store; later, as just Loramies, and today it is Fort Loramie. Near by is a Loramie's Creek, and in its course is Loramie's Reservoir, an artificial body of water, about seven miles long and two and a half wide covering 1,800 acres. There in Shelby County is a Loramie Township, and the portage is known as Loramie's portage. Let us call the place Loramies, its old name, and examine whether it may not take its place with Kaskaskia and Vincennes in the story of Clark's winning of the west.

Almost all Ohio historians believe that Loramie, for whom the place is named, was a Jesuit; and that this portage—like Kaskaskia and Vincennes — was for several years a mission station. They would extend its activities as such even down to 1782, that is, until the second coming hitherward of General George Rogers Clark, en route, as was supposed towards the destruction of Detroit.

Clark's first coming was in 1780. His movement then was a retaliatory stroke, following upon the most ambitious project of the British government for the complete extermination of its enemies in the west country. The attack on St. Louis was part of this idea. Troups from Florida and Louisiana were to move northward carrying wholesale destruction in their path; troops from Prairie du Chien and from Chicago were to move down the Mississippi Valley and destroy the Spanish town of San Luis as well as the British Cahokia. Captain Henry Bird, going forth from Detroit with heavy artillery and an overwhelming force of savages and whites, moved through Ohio into Kentucky and there gave Fort Liberty and Martin's Station to the war-whoop and the flames. He could have carried this campaign of destruction, he says, through the whole country had not his Indians killed all the cattle. A famishing army cannot hope to meet a brave foe successfully. His troops and their three hundred prisoners were reduced to starvation rations. They hastened back to Loramie's hoping there to find sustenance.

It is now admitted, after long dispute, that Clark took part in the defense of San Luis on that fateful May 26, 1780, *l'annee du grand coup;* and that he sent Col. John Montgomery to pursue and punish the retreating foe. It is not so well known that it was the fear of Clark's approach which cut short the dismaying expedition of Col. Bird. William H. English, for instance, in his scholarly *Conquest of the Northwest* (p. 680), says: "For some cause never explained with certainty, (the British and Indians) retired." Several writers have held that Col. Bird was so shocked at the brutal conduct of his Indian allies that he would proceed no further. But Wm. F. Poole shrewdly suspected that Bird had learned of Clark's movements and changed his designs accordingly. That this is the correct explanation is no longer a matter of conjecture as may be seen in the Bird Letters in the Haldiman papers. Bird there writes that his Indians had heard of Clark's coming against them, and they almost all left him, within a day's march of the enemy. He rejoices when he has gotten his big guns as far as Mons. Lorimier's, and the more so as Lorimier's supplies will serve him until he reaches safety. It is curious to note that Bird thinks all his American prisoners are ill affected towards the Congress at Philadelphia, except two families, Maguire and Mahon. He writes with keen satisfaction of his prescience—exact within a day or two: "Colonel Clark," he says "arrived a day or two of the time I marked for his certain arrival."

On this first foray, Clark did not advance as far as Loramies. He had assembled his forces opposite the mouth of the Licking River. Here he built a stockade and a block house for the preservation of his supplies, as well as for the care of some of his men, who, under Hugh McGary, had been wounded on the way to the common rendezvous. This was probably the first important structure, erected by white men, on the site of the present city of Cincinnati, if we except a mysterious old stone mill; and it cannot but be a pleasant consideration to those dwelling there today to remember that this first dedication of their soil was to purposes at once both patriotic and merciful.

The full details of Clark's march up the valley of the Miami, of his destruction of the stronghold of the Shawnee, old Chillicothe, and finally of the battle between his troops and the Shawnee at Piqua may be seen in a letter, which he wrote, immediately after his return from the field, to Thomas Jefferson. A more fully detailed account has come down to us from the pen of one of the soldiers, Henry Wilson, which agrees with Clark's report in all important features. Two items arrest attention.

First, if the importance of battles is estimated by the number of casualties, this Ohio event surpasses Clark's deeds in Kaskaskia and at Vincennes. Here Clark lost 14 killed and 13 wounded, whereas neither at Kaskaskia nor at Vincennes had he a single soldier killed. This Ohio advantage will not be stressed. For it is evident that one of the greatest claims of Clark, or of any other military leader, to true glory must rest on his care for the lives of his men. Few Generals have achieved such triumphs as Clark's with so meager a record of deaths. However, he suffered a loss here at Piqua that was poignant. Joseph Rogers, a first cousin and a companion of Clark, had been captured two years before; during the heat of this battle, he made an attempt to rejoin the whites and secure his freedom, but he received a mortal wound when between the lines, but whether from friend or foe will never be known. Another feature of Clark's method of warfare appears in his purpose, which was not to kill the savages but to chastise them by the destruction of their crops. Even savage armies travel on their belly. There would be no massacring savage raids if there were no forage. His troops laid waste between 800 and 1,000 acres of corn, together with a great quantity of vegetables "a considerable portion of which," says Clark, "appears to have been cultivated by white men."

Clark's second and more important Ohio campaign took place in the bleak November of 1782. One realizes the ability of Clark when he observes how helpless the entire population of the west was during his absence in Virginia, and how futile the American forces at Pittsburgh proved themselves while the Indians were growing in insolence.

Clark had been counting on a concerted move with Pittsburgh on the Indian stronghold in Ohio. He had been striving to awaken the general government to the precariousness of life in the west, but all in vain. The lion within him was aroused at last by the news of the terrible disaster at the Blue Licks, below Cincinnati on the Licking River. There on August 18, 1782, a party of savages under the skilful leadership of William Caldwell met the very pick of Kentucky's defenders, and, although Boone himself opened the battle, 77 of the 181 Kentuckians were killed, while the enemy lost but one Frenchman and six Indians. Clark's call for enlistments flew far and wide through the west. General Irvine at Pittsburgh agreed to co-operate with him and to lead a force against Sandusky thus to divide the defensive power of the British and their savage allies. However before the campaign was well under way, word was received at Pittsburgh that a cessation of hostilities had been ordered by Washington, and so Clark was left alone to continue the struggle.

He again assembled his men at Cincinnati, where his old stockade was still useful. A thousand and fifty determined men, under his careful military discipline, began the northward march. They met surprisingly slight resistance. Seven Indian towns were committed to the flames. One straggling party of Indians were pursued, and their squaws, together with a woman whom they had captured in Kentucky, Mrs. McFall, were taken. The hostile warriors had all been called in to protect Detroit. Clark was again satisfied by punishing the Shawnees who were the chief offenders. Col. Benjamin Logan with 150 horse advanced ahead of the main force and reached Loramies, where, writes Clark "property to a great amount was burnt. The quantity of provisions destroyed far surpassed any idea we had of their stores of that kind." He adds his disappointment in failing to learn of the agreed-on attack on Sandusky. Word reached him, shortly after, that a soldier, Daniel Sullivan, had come all the way from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati alone in a canoe bringing word of the cessation of fighting. In the meanwhile Clark had spent his days in destroying the crops of the country and in distributing the spoils.

An amusing incident is told concerning the division of the rich booty at Loramie's store. A soldier named Burke had found an old broken saddle which he desired should be awarded him as his complete share. He became the laughing stock of his fellows when he received just what he had sought. It developed that a goodly supply of gold coin was concealed in the holes in the saddle, and Burke laughed last when his fellows had exhausted their merriment.

There were striking evidences in abundance of white civilization in the neighborhood of Loramies; thus, we read of regular rows of houses; of apple trees planted in order; of fences; of truck gardens; of 6,000 horses; of miles and miles of corn-fields such that General Wayne a few years later writes that he had seen nothing equal to them from Florida to Massachusetts. May it be concluded that this was a mission station, and are the Ohio historians right who are almost unanimous that Loramie was a Jesuit?

There was a Jesuit named de la Morinie—a name which tradition could easily twist into Loramie—who had exercised his ministerial functions along the regions of the lakes, and among the very tribes, offshoots of which encamped about Loramies, the Miami and Ottawa. There were other Jesuits also, who may have come down from Detroit, to minister temporarily at least in these parts. But this was before our era, if at all. Father de la Morinie removed from the St. Joseph mission in Michigan to Kaskaskia, Illinois during the Pontiac trouble, and from Kaskaskia he was forcibly carried by ungrateful France back to Europe in 1764. He cannot therefore be the man who escaped from Clark's men in 1782; and he can scarcely be the man to whom the old pioneer, American Indian agent, Col. John Johnton refers, when he says: "I have seen the Indians burst into tears when speaking of the time when their French father had dominion over them, and their attachment to this day remains unabated." By "French Father" the French governor of Canada was more likely meant. Father de la Morinie was born in 1704, and would consequently have been 78 years of age at the time of Clark's second raid.

There is no longer any mystery about the identity of the trader who gave his name—in somewhat mangled form—to Lorimies. He fled from his burning store to Wapaconette in Auglaize County, and shortly after, together with a large following of Seneca, Wyandotte, Huron, and Shawnee, Delaware, and Ottawa, removed into Spanish Missouri, where he is known as the founder of the city of Cape Girardeau. His name was Peter Louis Lorimier, and he was one of the outstanding personages in the history of early Missouri.

His tomb tells us that he was 64 years and three months of age when he died on June 26, 1812. He had a secretary—a brilliant scholar of the kind then in honor among the Latin races—who no doubt composed the lines which adorn the tomb:

"Ossa habeant tumulo cineresque sepulti;
Immortali animae luceat alma dies."

Lorimier left a numerous progeny. His son, Louis, was graduated at the U. S. Military Academy at West Point in 1806, and served as Lieutenant on the western frontier during the three following years. It is not at all impossible that a corruption of his name was given to Laramie Creek, whence it passed to the state capital city of today, Laramie.

It is gratifying to know that Clark's incursions into Ohio were not destructive there of the works of religion. There is no convincing evidence yet found to show that Loramies is located upon any specially holy ground. The crosses found there, and in many other parts of the west, are not emblems of Christianity meant to foster piety, but frauds like the other articles with which they were distributed to the savages to win them to the British allegiance. Here, for instance, is a list of goods ordered by Lieut. Governor Sinclair, Sept. 1, 1782, just when Clark was preparing for his raid on Loramies: Gunpowder, 4,000 lbs.; shot, 2,000 lbs.; 12 gross of scalping knives; 222 kegs of rum of one gal. each; and 222 kegs of rum of 2 gal. each; and 200 double crosses, assorted. It is sometimes disputed whether the whites in those days encouraged the savages to scalp their foes, and just at present there is a consensus of opinion among American historians that no such imputation can be placed against the British officers, Hamilton, Bird, and the others. Possibly these scalping knives were given out by the gross to encourage the simple children of the soil to play mumble-the-peg, and the rum may have been intended as a cure for snake bite; and the crosses—well, what were the crosses for? They looked so nice upon the breast of a corpse that their purpose was likely to encourage the multiplication of crosses. When exhumed today, we find the bodies of heathen Indian warriors, who had never received a word of Christian instruction, well adorned with them.

It has not yet been shown that either as a Bethel or as a scene of a great military triumph Loramies can be placed in juxtaposition with Kaskaskia or with Vincennes. As a military station, the only claim can before something in so dim a past that history cannot confirm the verdict, but turning to the other aspect, its military

importance, much remains to be said. Let it be recalled that the fruit of all Clark's labor, his entire claim to national recognition, arises from the share he took in securing the northwestern territory to the Uniter States. There are a few writers who minimize his influence in this matter so far that they scarcely give him attention. These are those who study the acquisition of the west from the point of view of documents of the Peace Commission that met at Ghent in 1782. At Ghent there were interminable discussions of the boundaries of the new American nation, and it must be confessed that a careful study of these documents seems at first blush to point to the conclusion that the original charters of various of the early American colonies entitled them to the western lands, and that it was on this score that Britain relinquished her claims.

All this is true, but it must be borne in mind that the commissioners at Ghent were diplomats and envoys of peace, each of whom knew just about what the other desired, and on what grounds. The prudent delegate strove to get his own by the argument which he thought his opponent most willing to hear. It was no place to bring forward irritating remembrances of conquests. When the Americans asked for the west, the British knew on what facts they based their determination to have that section. They knew the story of Clark's victories, but it may be doubted whether they knew of any other so well as the most recent incident. They knew that the fear of Clark's reaching Detroit had cost their nation enormous outlays, for the double purpose of fortifying that post and of granting subsidies to the Indians to hold their friendship. From this aspect the obscure Loramies begins to look large in true American history.

Moreover, if Clark's campaigns had never touched affairs in the Lake regions at all, but had been confined to Kaskaskia and Vincennes, far down the Mississippi Valley, it is practically certain that the Water basin of the Great Lakes would never have been relinquished. If Clark had not advanced into dangerous proximity to Detroit, the fur trade at that key-center to the great northwest would have become more and more profitable and the profiteers would have instructed the Peace delegates to guard their interests.

An impartial consideration of these items compels the comclusion that Clark's invasion of Ohio was an essential part of his successful work, an essential item in the conquest of the northwest, a part not so startingly spectacular as his capture of Kaskaskia, nor yet so uniquely bold, and consequently piscuresque on the historical page, as the taking of Vincennes, yet a part that in the

impression it produced at the opportune moment of the meeting at Ghent, was more productive than either of these in the grand result, the acquisition of the northwest. Loramies marks Clark's northmost conquest. It must be listed with Kaskaskia and Vincennes in any full story of that first step in America's national expansion.

There remains another consideration of this fact, larger than any yet referred to, which consequently calls for attention. Clark's victories must be measured, to evaluate their true greatness, not merely quantitatively but qualitatively also; not merely by the two hundred and more thousand miles they accessioned to the national territory, but likewise by the expansion they gave to the domain of liberty.

It was stated that the Quebec Act of 1774 threw the entire northwest into the Quebec province. Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Lorimies had been in Quebec for four years before Clark started on his march into Illinois. By the Quebec Act full religious liberty was granted to all the inhabitants of that province. The Canadians to this day look upon that Act as the charter of their liberties. Here was the only place in all the British dominions, in all the English-speaking world, where religion was unhampered by civil enactments. Non-conformists, not only in Ireland and Scotland, but in England itself, had to wait many long years before they might hope t oenjoy so full a freedom. Dr. Johnson tried to prove that some other American colonies were as free as Quebec; that was a fallacy, put forth by one who liked to talk. Not even Virginia then knew such a boon. But with the first news of Clark's achievement among the little French villages of the west, the legislature of the old Dominion hastened to formulate an Act organizing the territory of Illinois, by Illinois meaning everything between Missouri and Pennsylvania, and in its first "Be-it-enacted" they decreed that the inhabitants of the new territory were to take the oath according to the forms of their own religion, "which they shall fully enjoy —together with their civil rights and property." The Ordinance of 1787 of the Continental congress followed this happy precedent, and the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States took up he same note, and passed it on, not only to the individual states, but to England and the world.

Advocates of the frontier theory of American history may note that herein we have another example, and surely one that yields to no other in importance, of the many ways in which the Trans-Alleghanies led the old colonial states into the ways of true liberty and Americanism. Religious freedom, first won by the patience of

the habitans of Quebec, entrusted her torch into the hands of Clark in the old French West, whence its flame lit up the scroll of the Ordinance of 1787 that organized this new territory, and passed naturally on into the American general Bill of Rights of 1791, the first amendment to the Constitution. Its first home in the United States was truly in the west. Of Ohio, in particular, it may be noted that since no civil jurisdiction was ever established there before these several enactments, Ohio territory was never tainted by the touch of religious intolerance. It was reserved to be a home of freedom.

The plain unvarinshed tale is told, yet it is impossible to pass from the contemplation of the broken shrines of Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Loramie's (supposing that it was a shrine at some early date) upon the nation which has given largest freedom to religion. During the sixteenth century the world was Spain's. That nation then protected religion as the apple of her eye and fostered the work of Christian missionaries in every part of the globe. The seventeenth century was France's. The glory and the after-glow of Louis le Grand filled the world. It was then that French missionaries found their way, by the nation's help, into these western valleys as well as into remote centers of other continents. But in time both these nations turned profligate; they bound religion hand and foot; they destroyed the missions and imprisoned the missionaries. They reached the consummation of their perfidy in 1773 when they compelled the Vicar of Christ to sign what seemed the death warrant of the great missionary order whose sweat and blood had been spilled so generously for the aborigines of America. It was just the following year, in 1774, that England, by the Quebec Act, took up the policy of freedom, abandoned by these others, opened the door for the missionary, the ambassadors of the liberty of the children of God. From that hour onward England has, above all other nations, been consistently more and more the protector of religion, the friend of the heralds of the true faith in every part of the world: and the world is hers. Is not this a reward? Undoubtedly it is. Now it remains but to ask whether the Stars and Stripes will follow the Providential route to true national greatness, which Clark initiated, and so make the coming century America's.

The facts set down above are taken chiefly from the following well-known works:

I—On the Life of Clark:

a) Illinois State Historical Collections, Vol. VIII and XIX. These are the Clark Papers, primary sources.

b) Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, esp. the Haldiman Papers.

c) Henry Howe,—Historical Collections of Ohio, (1902); esp. chapters on Shelby, Auglaize, and Clark counties.

d Wm. H. English,—Conquest of the Northwest, and Life of Clark.

e) Joseph J. Thompson,—in Journal of Ill. State Hist., IX, p. 422; see p. 447 for further bibliography on Clark.

II—On Loramies, and Lorimier, and Father de la Morinie:

a) Ohio Archaelogical and Historical Collections, XX and esp. XVII, p. 1.

b) Louis Houck,—History of Missouri; also his Spanish Regime.

c) Firmin A. Rozier,—Hist. of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley.

The Adjutant, West Point, kindly sent me the record there of young Loramier, calling attention to the fact that he is entered on the books as Loramier, (note the "a"; Houck and Rozier, as well as Col. Bird spell the name with "i".

LAURENCE J. KENNY, S. J.

St. Louis, Mo.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES

(*Continued from July issue*)

Second National Convention Held in Chicago, Ill., August 5, 6, 7, 1902

Rt. Rev. Peter J. Muldoon, D. D., (Administrator of the Archdiocese), Sponsor

The Second National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Chicago, Ill., August 5, 6, 7, 1902. The Great Northern Hotel was the convention headquarters and the sessions were held in the Y. M. C. A. Auditorium. Hon. M. F. Girten of Chicago, was the local chairman.

The opening services were held in Holy Name Cathedral, with Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D. D., as celebrant, Rev. Father McDonnell and Rev. Father Kavanaugh, deacon and subdeacon, Rev. M. J. Fitzsimmons, assistant priest, and Rev. F. J. Barry, master of ceremonies. Among the prelates in the sanctuary were, Archishop W. H. Elder, D. D., of Cincinnati, Ohio., Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D., of Green Bay, Wis., Rt. Rev. J. A. McFaul, D. D., of Trenton, N. J.

Speaking of the church services, the *New World* in its daily edition of August 6, said: "The delegates attended Holy Mass in a body, and created a very favorable impression. This was the first public appearance of the delegates, and if their deportment on this occasion affords a criterion of their earnestness and ability, which it certainly does, the American Federation of Catholic Societies has reason to be proud of the character of the gentlemen who represent it. A more earnest, dignified and attentive body of men is seldom met with."

The sermon during the Pontifical Mass was preached by Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer, D. D., Bishop of Green Bay, Wis. (now Archbishop of Milwaukee). Bishop Messmer called attention to the public social duties of the Catholic laity as outlined in the various encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII; that our first duty was to spread the light of Catholic faith. "The more we spread the light of Catholic truth," said the Bishop, "the more we bring Catholic principles to become a leading factor in shaping and forming the principal force and power in the lives of our fellow citizens, especially in the public

life of society, that the more we become the true and the only true benefactors of society."

"A Federation of Catholic Societies must naturally and necessarily exert a tremendous power and influence upon its own members. Let us imagine that all the Catholic Societies here in the United States were actually gathered into one great Federation; that they were all brought together in the one bond of peace and the one unity of the spirit. Suppose that all these societies under the guidance, first of all, of the appointed shepherds of the Church of God, would exercise that Christian spirit, bringing forth into action those Christian principles of the Catholic truth and the Catholic faith, what a tremendous power that would be for the strengthening and the uplifting, the upbuilding of the Catholic spirit, and Catholic work, and the Catholic life among the children of the Church, first of all, and then among those who are separated from us."

Bishop Messmer pointed out the great service the Federation of Catholic Societies could render to improve public morality in the nation; to enforce stricter divorce laws; to make known the Church's stand on the question of Capital and Labor, etc.

The Bishop closed his stirring sermon with the following words: "If the Catholic laity get together and unite under their divinely appointed leaders and go forth in the light of Catholic faith and in the strength and in the power of Catholic principles, of Catholic morality, to help their own brethren and the help their brethren outside of the Church, Oh! what a great and beautiful work they will accomplish, worthy of our calling as children of God and children of His Holy Church."

Hon. F. M. Girten of Chicago, Opens Convention

The convention was formally opened at 2:30 P. M. Hon. M. F. Girten, Chairman of the Chicago committee, welcomed the delegates. He said, in part: "We Catholics have at present large and great societies with praiseworthy aims. They are doing immense good, and every thinking man hopes that they will increase in membership and thereby do increased good. However, each of these organizations has its own peculiar and distinct method of doing its work. This keeps them apart. To provide a means for the union of all is your mission.

"This is the age of concentration. Progress in all directions is only accomplished by duty. The two great forces of our century are concentration and education. A people who make use of these forces acquire the greatest material strength. I congratulate the members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies upon having en-

tered into this sphere. Your society is for the propagation of unity and education. Your field is enormous.

"To bring the Catholic laity into closer union is your mission—to build a structure wherein all can enter and all will feel at home. You have undertaken a great work. The obstacles you will have to overcome are many. Nationality, misunderstanding, prejudice, ignorance—these are the most difficult. . . . Federation's motto is not centralization, for centralization is death to individuality, it is 'Federation;' it is only this, 'In essentials let us be united; let us know each other; let us learn to love one another; and though one be Celt or Slav and the other Teuton, Saxon, or Latin, or whatever nationality or race you may please, being members of the one grand and magnificent family, the Catholic Church, let us put into practice the doctrine of St. John the Apostle, whose motto is, 'Love one another.' "

Mr. Girten then introduced Dr. Howard S. Taylor, who welcomed the delegates to Chicago, and read messages from Governor Yates and Bishop Spaudling of Peoria. Mr. F. B. Minahan of Columbus, Ohio, national President of the American Federation of Catholic Societies, was then introduced, who, after a brief address, opened the first business session.

The burning question before the convention was the "Philippine Question." Bishop McFaul, who was called upon by the chairman, gave a summary of Federation's activities and said among other things: "Pope Leo XIII has given us some great encyclicals in which he pointed out the principles which should guide our age. We rejoice that agitation is keeping before the American people the rights and privileges of Catholics. It is the right, it is the sacred privilege of every American citizen to raise his voice when there is a question of injustice or of grievance, to cry out in behalf of justice of social and moral principles. In finding out the truth of those reports from the Philippines, to whom should we appeal more confidently than to the administration in charge of the government of the United States. We would be guilty of cowardice if we did not see to it that our co-religionists in the Philippine Islands did not receive their rights under the flag of our country because we remained silent and did not educate our administration up to the true position occupied by the Church in this country.

"We are not finding fault with the administration. We thank the administration for its inclination towards justice. We feel that matters in the Philippines could have been settled long before, if there had been close touch with Rome. Rome understands the situation in the Philippine Islands in all its ramifications down to its root and

foundations. I feel confident that when by agitation and by education, we lay before the authorities in Washington the true condition of things, they will institute such investigation that will bring forth the truth about the Philippines and the rights of the Friars in the light of the day. Federation intends to hold up the hands of the administration until the Philippine Question is amicably settled."

Mr. Minahan then asked Bishop Messmer to make a few remarks. The Bishop said that Federation was a work of education. If Federation would undertake to gather together from the encyclicals of our Holy Father from the social encyclicals and addresses and from letters to the Bishops, all those passages in which he speaks of the present duties of the Catholic laity on social questions and social needs, such a work would do a great deal of good.

Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Iowa, President of the German Roman Catholic Central Verein, made a few remarks and stated that he would do all in his power to make the Federation a success.

The President then appointed the following committees: On Credentials, Judge M. T. Shine of Covington, Ky., chairman; Committee on Rules and Order of Business, Hon. E. Reardon of Indiana, Chairman; Committee on Press, Mr. A. G. Koelble of New York, Chairman.

The first session closed with prayer by Bishop Messmer.

Public Mass Meeting

A public Mass Meeting was held in the Association Auditorium on Tuesday, August 5th, with Bishop P. J. Muldoon as chairman.

Bishop Muldoon's Address

"Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am here this evening as a student and observer. I am here to listen to the wise words of those who have studied the subject that you are debating in your councils this week. I with pleasure act as chairman of this meeting, in accepting the courtesy that was extended to me through the society, and also, I will say to show my appreciation of the American Federation of Catholic Societies having as an object the education of the Catholic people, the education of that people in the highest possible form, to know their rights and to exact them.

"Knowledge is necessary for all of us, and knowledge is especially necessary for the Catholic people of the United States—not that in any form we are wanting in knowledge that others have, but too long some of us have come asking for favors when we should have demanded our rights. We ask for no favors from any American citizen,

and we never proclaim our American citizenship if we have to get a label upon it by that proclamation. We are American citizens because we were either born in this country or we took this country to ourselves as that which we loved best. And as a separate body we are naturally separated. We are separated by the very fact that we are Catholics, and we desire for ourselves and for our children something above and beyond every other class of citizens in this country—the education of our children, not only in that which pertains to the things of this life, but the education of our children in the things that pertain to the life beyond. And we believe, among other things, that it is proper for the United States to give us also a pro-rata for the education of these children of ours, among other rights that belong to us.

"The objects and aims of the Federation, no doubt, are many, and these objects and aims, so far as they make us better Catholics, will also make us better citizens, and truer to all the right principles that go to make up the American citizen.

"I welcome you, as administrator of the diocese of Chicago, to our city. I trust that when your days of convention are over you will have sent a message not only to the Catholic people of the United States, but to all citizens of all classes, that will mark you as the highest-minded men, that will show to the entire world that you can be true Catholics and also true citizens."

Bishop Muldoon then introduced the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J., and in so doing he said: "Bishop McFaul began this movement and through his will power and his love of all that he sees in it, he has cemented it from day to day."

Bishop McFaul Speaks on Philippine Question

Bishop McFaul then gave a resume of Federation activities and launched into the Philippine Question. He said among other things, "that if the Filipinos were Protestants and Catholics were to vilify their preachers and establish a system of schools among them to which they were opposed on religious grounds there would be such an uprising among the Protestants of the United States as would shake the foundations of the Republic. And I honor them for their courage. This is the spirit which built up American liberty.

"Notwithstanding the outcry made by the bigots, *The Friars of the Philippines must go; no compromise with the Vatican,* it is to the credit of the Catholic press and to Federation and those societies that enlisted in this agitation, that is bringing about a satisfactory solution. It has been said that as the Friar question is now in the

hands of the Vatican we should let it rest there. This is very true and we are filled with just pride that agitation helped to bring the Philippine Question where it belonged and out of the domain of party politics. We are satisfied that if such a course had been pursued all along in the Philippine affairs, the Government would now have the Islands in much better civic condition. Federation proposes to keep up the agitation, confident that a strong intelligent public opinion is necessary to point out the way and help the administration in the difficult work demanding attention in our next possessions. Federation is deeply interested in obtaining just treatment for the Friars who have suffered under so many cruel calumnies and shall watch with eagerness the educational interests of the Filipinos.

"In response to Federation's protest and petition addressed by the Executive Board of the Federation to President Roosevelt and the War Department, containing information as to the total number of teachers employed in the Philippines, the number sent from this country and the institutions whence the teachers came from, reply was received that according to the records of the War Department, between three and four thousand Filipino teachers and nine hundred and sixty-seven American teachers were employed. The latter number includes eighteen or nineteen Catholics. In obtaining American teachers only about half half dozen Catholic institutions were asked to propose candidates, whereas over one hundred non-Catholic colleges, teachers' agencies, etc., furnished the balance at the request of the authorities. Here discrimination against Catholics is evident.

"There may be found some who will deny that Catholic teachers could have been found in sufficient number. The same reply has been made before regarding the scarcity of chaplains in the army and navy. A Bishop here and there has been asked to supply a priest and may have been unable. When, however, has a determined effort been made to obtain Catholic Chaplains, and how many Bishops have been asked for priests? There is not the slightest doubt that had the invitation for Catholic teachers been extended to all the Catholic institutions of the United States, a very large number of capable teachers might have been procured."

Defends Filipinos and Friars

The Bishop said that the impression has gone abroad in America that the Filipinos were in a state of dense ignorance. "This is a great calumny. The Filipinos were not civilized and Christianized as we have conferred those blessings upon the Indians of America, by rifle-bullets which consigned them to quiet habitations beneath the

sod. During centuries the Friars dwelt with the tribes of the Philippines, and it is to them they are indebted for whatever they possess of education and religion. *Like priests, like people,* is an old and true saying. It is, therefore, impossible, judging from results, that the Friars are anything but a holy, pious body of men, zealously devoted to their calling. We know the tree by its fruit. There may have been a few who forgot their holy vocation, but instances of depravity must have been very rare."

Concluding his eloquent address, Bishop McFaul said: "While negotiations between the Taft Commission and the Vatican are pending, the Executive and Advisory Boards of Federation will keep up peaceful agitation until all these problems shall be solved in accordance with justice."

After brief addresses by Mr. M. P. Mooney of Cleveland, Ohio., and Mr. Nicholas Gonner of Dubuque, Iowa, the Mass meeting came to a close.

Second Business Session

The business session on August 6, 1902, was opened with prayer by Bishop Messmer. Hon. M. T. Shine of Covington, Ky., Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, reported that 480 delegates were in attendance representing Catholic societies in 31 States. The President named two important committees, on Constitution, with Mr. H. J. Fries of Erie, Pa., as chairman, and that on Resolution, with Mr. M. P. Mooney of Cleveland, Ohio, as chairman.

Rev. H. G. Ganss, D. D., representative of the Catholic Indian Bureau, gave an interesting report of the activities of said Bureau. He stated that out of 270,000 Indians 106,000 were Catholics.

National Secretary Anthony Matre stated in his report that four Archbishops and twenty-five Bishops have thus far approved the Federation movement and that Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana and Massachusetts had active State Federation, and that fourteen National and State organizations had joined the Federation movement: He stated that the money collected was $1,738.61, of which amount $1,272.69 had been expended, leaving a balance of $465.92.

Mr. M. P. Mooney, Chairman of the Executive Board, made a report in which he disclosed his correspondence with President Roosevelt and the War Department relative to the Philippine Question. He also presented a letter from Hon. Clarance R. Edwards, Chief of Bureau of Department of Insular Affairs in which statement was made that no discrimination has been made in the appointment of school teachers in the Philippines on account of their religious belief.

The afternoon session of August 6, 1902, was opened with the appointment of two committees, that of Finance, with Mr. John Stephan of Pittsburg, Pa., as chairman. Addresses of Mr. Thiele and Very Rev. A. B. Oechtering followed.

Rev. J. T. O'Reilly, an Augustinian Father from Massachusetts, was called upon and gave a powerful defence for the Friars in the Philippines. Concluding his remarks he said: "We have been silent regarding the Church in the Philippines too long. We have been silent as a people, our press has been silent, our Episcopate has been practically silent because of the justice of our cause and because of our confidence that justice would ultimately triumph. But, my friends, we have been disappointed. Party interests prevailed. The sooner we open our eyes to the true condition of things, the better we will remedy them.

"I stand before you today as a Friar, one of a committee, and I think the first of its kind officially appointed, to call on the President of the United States and remonstrate against the misrepresentation of our people in the Philippine Islands and demand for them their rights; and I want to say here that the administration has probably done as well as they knew how under the circumstances. . . . I am satisfied that the sentiment of this Convention practically represents the Catholic people of the United States, and that is that the Friars of the Philippine Islands need make no apology for their lives. All that the Catholic Church wants in the Philippines is that which she enjoys in the United States."

A message was then presented to the convention by Rev. E. L. Spalding of the Cathedral of Alton, Ill., emanating from the pen of Rt. Rev. James Ryan, D. D., Bishop of Alton, Ill. The message was a forceful plea for our Catholic brethren in the Philippines:

Important Message of Bishop Ryan of Alton, Ill.

Bishop Ryan wrote in part: "The main purpose of the American Federation of Catholic Societies is most commendable. The assumption has too often most flauntingly been made—even put into practice—that this is a Prostestant country, not the country of all creeds. Most generally, indeed, anti-Catholic bigotry has hidden behind the hollow mockery of non-sectarianism, a mockery how hollow is seen in the treatment of the Catholic Indian schools. Unprejudiced testimony shows that if Catholic schools had anything like the aid that bigotry had, the Indians would have been long since domesticated and civilized as they have been throughout Central and South America and wherever a Catholic people has dwelt with them. . . .

"Governor Taft has repeatedly, solemnly and officially declared that the whole Filipino people desire the Friars removed. A dispatch sent to Bishop Richter of Michigan, by the Centro Catolico of the Philippines, states that six million and more Filipino Catholics desire the Friars to remain. Which are we to believe, the millions or Taft? . . .

"We know well that most of those partisans, greedy politicians and army men, who have been loudest in the hue and cry about the Friars and barbarous Filipinos, are, from a moral standpoint, not worthy to undo the latchet of the shoes of the humblest of either. They are like 'whited sepulchres, that outwardly indeed appear to men fair, but inwardly are filled with dead men's bones and all uncleanness.' . . .

From the beginning of these unhappy affairs there has been too little, not too much, protesting on the part of Catholics . . . and as Catholics, let it be finally repeated, we stand and make our appeal simply on the right—on the fair play and justice and the Constitution. As it is now, the Mohammedan can practice his religion and train his child as he pleases in the Philippines; the Filipino Catholic finds his religion, under the action and auspices of the United States, subjected to virulent onslaught and manifold outrage, and his child delivered over in the schools, for which he pays, to a deceitful propagandism, designed to strip the soul of its most precious inheritance, the faith of centuries. This Filipino Catholic parent feels himself helpless, crushed beneath the weight of eighty millions of people, the vast body of whom certainly mean him not unkindly. In so grave a matter we cannot be satisfied with fair words; we must press for fair deeds."

The Committee on Constitution then made its report and this report was followed by the report of the Resolutions Committee.

Important Resolutions Adopted

The Resolutions adopted declared its filial devotion and loyalty to Mother Church and the Holy Father. It strongly recommended the study of the various encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII. It expressed confidence in President Roosevelt in his dealings in the Philippine Question and exhorted that peace and order can best be restored in the Philippine Islands by securing to the inhabitants their free and untrammeled exercise of the religion so long prevalent and now established therein, and through which the natives of these remote lands have been lifted from barbarism to civilization. The Resolutions further said:

"Resolved, That we extend to the Friars in the Philippines our fullest sympathy in this, their hour of trial; that we are unmoved by the calumnies uttered against them; that we appreciate the value of their services in the cause of religion and humanity, and that we pledge them our support as American citizens in upholding the hands of our government in its determination to see that they are treated with that common justice that belongs to all who enjoy the protection of the American flag.

"Resolved, That it is our belief that all that is required to speedily put a stop to the whole anti-Friar agitation is an honest and impartial enforcement of the laws of the United States, giving protection to life and property.

"Resolved, That this Federation congratulate the Vatican and the American government on the position attained in the negotiations regarding the questions which have arisen in the Philippines, and we earnestly trust that these negotiations will be continued until a just and amicable solution shall have been obtained."

The Federation also, by Resolution, pledged its moral and active support to the cause of our Catholic Indian Schools which are in a precarious condition, because of government aid having been withdrawn, and promised to give the widest extension to the "Society for the Preservation of the Faith among Indian Children."

A Resolution was also adopted to send a message of sympathy to the Religious Orders of France in their present persecution; to urge Catholic societies everywhere to support the establishment of Catholic High Schools.

"New World" of Chicago Complimented

The *New World* of Chicago published daily editions during the convention. The Federation took special note of this and passed the following Resolution:

"Resolved, That the thanks of the American Federation of Catholic Societies be tendered the *New World* of the City of Chicago, for its indefatigable and unswerving devotion to the cause, especially during the present convention, for the clear and able manner in which it has publicly set forth all pertaining to our proceedings and the movement in general."

The thanks of the Convention was also extended to Bishop Muldoon of Chicago and to all those who helped to make the Chicago Convention a success.

The session held August 7, 1902, was opened with prayer by Bishop Messmer.

Anti-Saloon League and Federation

A letter from the Secretary of the Anti-Saloon League was presented asking the American Federation of Catholic Societies to send delegates to the Seventh National Anti-Saloon Convention to be held in Washington, D. C., September 9-11, 1902.

Bishop Messmer expressed his views on this matter and said among other things: "I feel at the moment that it would hardly be advisable to answer exactly to the invitation that we have received from the Anti-Saloon League. I am willing to grant that in many places and under many conditions we can and ought to co-operate with non-Catholic temperance societies and similar organizations, but we know on the other hand that many of them base their efforts on principles which we do not admit. Many of them go on the principle that the use of intoxicating liquor at any time is wrong and sinful. That is against Catholic doctrine, and we do not endorse it. We have no right to forbid a man to do what God's Holy Church allows him to do. Therefore, inasmuch as a formal participation and communication with these organizations might be taken as an indorsement of their principles in general, I would not consider it wise to take formal part or formal action with them. At the same time I believe we can satisfy at least their wishes, and we will at the same time satisfy many of our brethren in the Faith, and hundreds of citizens outside of the Church, if we present a resolution which will briefly state our principles and state what we are willing to do. Therefore, I wish to offer the following Resolution:

"While we believe that a moderate use of liquor is neither against the natural law nor the precepts of the Gospel, we fully recognize the sinfulness of intemperance and its dreadful consequences upon the individual as well as society. We are therefore heartily in favor of all reasonable measures, private and public, tending toward the suppression of the abuse of intoxicating liquor."

After some discussion the resolution presented by Bishop Messmer was unanimously adopted.

In connection with the above resolution Bishop Messmer said he would like to recommend to the members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies that they strongly disapprove the so-called "Treating Habit" as an efficient means of restricting the evils of intemperance.

After the report of the Committee on Ways and Means and an address by Rev. N. Rohden of South America, the Nominating Com-

mittee, of which Mr. J. T. Keating of Chicago was Chairman, made its recommendations as follows:

National President, T. B. Minahan, Columbus, Ohio.
First Vice-President, L. J. Kaufman, New York, N. Y.
Second Vice-President, F. J. Kierce, San Francisco, Cal.
Third Vice-President, Daniel Duffy, Pottsville, Pa.
National Secretary, Anthony Matre, Cincinnati, Ohio.
National Treasurer, W. J. Fries, Erie, Pa.
Marshall, Christ. O'Brien, Chicago, Ill.

Executive Board—
M. P. Mooney of Ohio.
Nicholas Gonner of Iowa.
Edward Reardon of Indiana.
Thomas H. Cannon of Illinois.
F. W. Immekus of Pennsylvania.
J. W. Fowler of Kentucky.
John Galvin of Vermont.

The above named gentlemen were duly elected to office. After a Resolution of Condolence was adopted on the death of Archbishop Feehan of Chicago, and Archbishop Corrigan of New York; and a vote of thanks had been extended to Hon. M. F. Girten of Chicago for his untiring efforts on behalf of the convention and the comfort of the delegates, the convention closed with the singing of "America."

ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,
National Secretary.

Chicago.

NECROLOGY

RT. REV. PETER J. MULDOON, D. D.

The death of Bishop Muldoon on October 8, 1927, brought to a close a career that meant much for Catholicity in Illinois and the United States. Bishop Muldoon will be remembered not only for his remarkable work in organizing and developing the Diocese of Rockford over which he presided as first bishop for nearly twenty years, but for the splendid results he obtained in his capacity of head of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In the April number of the REVIEW which will be a Memorial to Bishop Muldoon, we shall attempt to give as adequate a recital of his life as can be written so soon after his passing.

REV. HUGH P. SMYTH, LL. D.

The Rev. Hugh P. Smyth, pastor of St. Mary's Church, Evanston, for 34 years, died on Sunday, November 6, after a heart attack, and his passing is sincerely mourned by his host of friends of all denominations.

Famous as a writer on religious subjects, Father Smyth's interests soared beyond the narrow confines of the parish boundaries, but his little flock knew him always as father, confessor, adviser, friend, philosopher and theologian. Democratic in his ways and interested in all worthwhile community movements, he was in frequent demand as a speaker and lecturer. His books on the Roman Catholic faith, which included "The Reformation," "Testimony to the Truth," and "The God of Our Fathers" won him a national reputation. He was admired and respected and loved, not only by his own flock, but by all who came in contact with him and by Protestants as well as Catholics. He made Catholicity known and respected in Methodist Evanston and was often on the platform at Northwestern University.

DR. STEWART'S TRIBUTE

The Rev. Dr. George Craig Stewart, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Evanston, and a close friend of Father Smyth, voiced the sentiment of the community when he said:

"In the death of Father Smyth, Evanston loses one of its best beloved citizens. He was a sound scholar, a dignified and devoted

parish priest, a patriotic American and a genuine Christian. He was distinguished for his intellectual convictions, for the large and charitable tolerance of his spirit and for the twinkling humor of his speech.

"We who knew him and loved him as a comrade in the religious life of Evanston suffer in his death a poignant loss. God grant him rest and peace and joy and life eternal."

Dr. Stewart, himself a popular churchman in his home community, was often a guest of Newman Council, K. of C., located in Evanston, of which Father Smyth was its most illustrious member.

Father Smyth was born September 21, 1855, in County Cavan, Ireland. He was educated in All Hallows in Dublin and shortly after being ordained, nearly fifty years ago, came to America. He was assistant pastor at the Church of the Nativity, Union Avenue and 37th Street, Chicago, for nine years. His first pastorate was at St. Peter's Church in Lemont, where he served two years.

Father Smyth's silver jubilee at St. Mary's in 1906 was attended by Catholic dignitaries from all over the country, including Archbishop Glennan of St. Louis. In 1924 he was given the honorary degree of doctor of laws by Loyola University.

He, too, had a poetic soul, and many of his poems are preserved by his old parishioners on Christmas and Easter cards. His two great hobbies were the erection of the Margarita Club, a home for business girls, and St. George's High School for Boys. Both of these ambitions were realized just before his death.—*The Columbian.*

THOMAS NASH, CHICAGO'S OLDEST RESIDENT

Thomas Nash, Chicago's oldest resident and a Catholic pioneer of 72 years' residence in the city, died Friday January 7, 1928, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. John Dowdle, 429 Briar Place, at the age of 103 years. He was buried at Calvary cemetery Monday after impressive ceremonies at Mount Carmel Church in which his nephew, Msgr. J. J. Nash, of Buffalo, N. Y., participated as celebrant.

Mr. Nash was the father of Richard Nash, Patrick A. Nash, and John Nash and the wife of Dr. J. H. Walsh and was one of the founders of the Holy Name parish on the West Side. He was born in Ireland in 1825, arrived in Chicago when he was 31 and for 37 years was employed in the department of public works. He supervised the construction of many of the first sewers and water tunnels installed in the city. The firm of Nash Brothers, composed of his

sons, is nationally known and grew out of one founded by Mr. Nash after he left the city's employ.

Fifty priests representing many orders assisted in the services at the church and grave and the last blessing was given by the Rt. Rev. Edward F. Hoban, D. D., auxiliary bishop of Chicago.—*The Columbian.*

JOHN P. YOUNG

John P. Young, one of the old Catholic residents of Chicago, due to a stroke of paralysis, died at the Alexian Brothers Hospital December 28.

He was attended spiritually to the last by his son, the Rev. Father Francis C. Young, assistant pastor of St. Matthew's Church, Albany and Walnut Streets.

He was buried from St. George's Church, 39th St. and Wentworth Ave., where his thirteen children were born, baptized and raised. A pioneer furniture man in this district he contributed to the city's development during his 45 years of active business.

Mr. Young was born May 31st, 1851, in the Prussian City of Confeld, Germany. He married Elizabeth Lauermann, September 19th, 1876. She was called in death over 21 years ago. At the age of 78 years he died a beautifully peaceful death survived by the following children: John H. Young, Minneapolis, Minn.; Joseph P. Young, 4932 N. Hoyne Avenue; Mrs. Felix M. Wahlheim, Rock Island, Ill.; Peter B. Young, 4711 Greenwood Avenue; Mrs. William P. Ryan, 449 E. 60th Street; Father Francis C. Young, St. Matthew's Church, and Mrs. John M. Ward, 8001 S. Ada Street.

CHRONICLE

Bishop Henry P. Rohlman. Of interest to all Catholics of the Mississippi Valley was the consecration in St. Raphael's Cathedral, July 25, 1927, of Right Reverend Henry P. Rohlman as successor to Bishop James Davis, deceased.

"Bishop Rohlman's elevation to the episcopacy," we are told by the *Daily American Tribune,* Dubuque, Iowa, July 26, 1927, "marks the sixth graduate of Columbia College (Dubuque) to have attained that high honor; the others being Rt. Rev. M. Lenihan, Rt. Rev. John P. Carroll, Rt. Rev. Daniel M. Gorman, Rt. Rev. Thomas W. Drumm, and Most Rev. Edward D. Howard."

Bishop George J. Finnigan, C. S. C., is the first member of the Holy Cross order to receive a diocese in the United States, says the *Daily American Tribune* of August 2, 1927. He was consecrated in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Notre Dame, Indiana, on August 1, 1927, by Most Rev. Peter J. Hurth, C. S. C., titular archbishop of Bostra.

Bishop Finnegan was born February, 22, 1885, at Potsdam, N. Y. In 1910 he graduated from Notre Dame University with the degree of Litt. B.; that same year he went to Rome to the House of Studies of the Congregation of Holy Cross. In 1912 he received the degree of S. T. L. from the Gregorian University. He was ordained priest June 13, 1915, by Cardinal Pompili, the Vicar of Rome, in his private chapel and said his first Mass at the Tomb of Peter on June 14. He received the degree of S. T. D. at Laval in Quebec, in 1916. He was commissioned in 1918 as first lieutenant chaplain in the 137th field artillery and in October, 1918, went to France with his regiment. After the armistice, Father Finnigan was transferred to the 80th field artillery of the Seventh Regular Army Division and in May, 1919, was promoted to a captaincy. He returned to America in June, 1919, and was appointed superior of the Preparatory Seminary at Notre Dame, which position he held for six years. In 1825 he was appointed vice-president of Notre Dame University and professor of philosophy. In 1926 he was elected provincial of the Congregation of Holy Cross in the United States. On May 20, 1927, he was appointed bishop of Helena.

CORNERSTONE LAYING OF SPRINGFIELD CATHEDRAL

August 14, 1927, will long be remembered in the annals of Diocesan history for, on that day the cornerstone of the new Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception of the Diocese of Springfield in Illinois was laid with fitting splendor in the presence of one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings ever seen in this home city of Lincoln. The ceremony was carried out in accordance with the ancient prescribed rite, and with all the Catholic solemnity characteristic of such an important event. The Right Reverend James A. Griffin, D. D., officiated and was assisted by several church dignitaries of the Diocese.

A number of organizations, as separate units, participated. The Holy Name Society and the Boy Scouts were there, and the fourth degree Knights of Columbus acted as bodyguard to the Right Reverend Bishop. Messrs. Rossiter and Rose, officials of the K. of C., marshaled the parade. A large choir, composed of the leading singers of the different city parishes and graciously assisted by the Capitol City Band, furnished the music for the occasion.

Written invitations were extended to every Catholic family in the Diocese, and the public at large, irrespective of religious affiliation, were cordially invited to attend. Quincy, the Tri-Cities and Decatur chartered special trains to take care of the crowds attending the celebration, and the smaller cities and the country places sent their proportionate share.

The function began with the laying of the cornerstone. Anent this ceremony it is interesting to note that in the Cornerstone was placed and sealed, a box containing medals of various kinds, coins, old and new, of different denominations, newspapers and letters from the Diocesan Consultors. These things, now trivial enough, may prove of great historical value to future generations. After the laying of the cornerstone came the speakers' program in which the following participated: Hon. Emil Smith, the highly respected Mayor of the city; Rev. John Franz, a boy born in Springfield; Hon. James Graham, a citizen of great ability, and far and favorably known for his civic worth and devotion to religion, and last, the moving spirit of the whole proceedings—Right Reverend James A. Griffin. Since the ceremony is essentially religious it was fittingly climaxed by Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament.

A medal commemorative of the happy event has been struck. This medal has a picture of the Cathedral group on one side and that

of the Right Rev. Bishop on the other, thus making it a very appropriate souvenir.

It is inspiring to recall even briefly the short history of the new Cathedral. A year ago it was little more than a beautiful dream that seemed well nigh impossible of such quick realization. But six months since, the Right Rev. Bishop, with high hopes and a zeal worthy of such a noble cause, issued an appeal to the Diocese for funds to build a Cathedral that would be in keeping with the dignity of the Catholic Church and at the same time in harmony with the prevailing architecture of this, the Capitol city of Illinois. The response—now a matter of history—was electrically prompt, magnificently generous. In actual fact it was far beyond even the most sanguine hopes of the Bishop. And so, with sufficient funds on hand and plenty more in view, a valuable site was secured, and work was immediately begun. Construction has now so far progressed that the Cathedral with its adjunct buildings is already taking shape. When completed the group will undoubtedly be very imposing, and unique in this (if the writer is correctly informed) that it will be the only group of its kind in this country in which all the buildings were erected simultaneously.

The new Cathedral, designed by the eminent Chicago architect, Joseph McCarthy, K. S. G., belongs to that type of architecture known as the Greek Revival Style. This form of architecture was in very popular use in Colonial America. Due to its simple lines it is less expensive than the Gothic style, yet perhaps not less beautiful. At any rate it is a style that easily lends itself to the admirable architectural qualities of strength, beauty and utility.

This basilican Cathedral is 87 feet wide by 180 feet deep, with a seating capacity of about 1,000. The entrance will be through a portico into a spacious vestibule, and from over the main facade will rise a stately tower to a height of 133 feet, measured from the grade to the tip of the golden cross surmounting. The interior will be a Greek rectangular hall with a ceiling fifty feet above the floor. This ceiling will be paneled symmetrically and richly decorated in symbolic relief. Sixteen Greek marble columns, eight on each side and Doric in style, will nobly support a clerestory which in turn will be surmounted by an ornate Doric cornice. To allow of ample space for the full range of Episcopal functions ,the sanctuary will be exceptionally large. The main altar will be a thing of beauty built up of Greek marble with a mosaic altar setting of the Immaculate Conception after Murillo. The two side altars are so designed as to lend the main altar additional beauty. Other features of the interior

call for description, but since space will not permit it is sufficient to say that when completed, the interior will be a harmonic whole, beautifully calculated to create a devotional atmosphere for the worshipper.

The building itself will be strongly constructed and faced throughout by Mankato stone. This stone is not uniform in color, but varies from a light cream to a dark buff, thus producing a pleasing and chameleon-like effect. The adjunct buildings are also of the same style and material, but are so ingeniously arranged in the scheme of things that, though beautiful in themselves, they do not detain the eye but rather hurry it on to the focus of attraction—the Cathedral.

GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

"Research in Local Catholic History," by Thomas F. O'Connor, is the title of a leading article in *America* for August 6, 1927. Mr. O'Connor emphasizes the importance of the individual student and investigator of local history as the collector of the source materials from which the historical scholar must draw his facts. We believe that those interested in the history of their Church are not sufficiently aware of the important work they may do in collecting this material. The following suggestions are offered by Mr. O'Connor as to what the investigator may do:

"In the domain of source-material, a virgin mine awaits the careful investigator. Town records, including deeds, enactments, and other official documents, often reveal facts of information not obtainable elsewhere. Many of these records, especially for the older eastern and New England towns, are particularly rich, and offer a field which can be explored with profit. Perchance many of these will yield little information on things Catholic, but the older volumes of the colonial and early national days will often afford considerable light upon the general conditions of religion and toleration. To these should be added, as of much greater value, the classic sources of primary material of larger scope, such as the Colonial Documents of New York, the Pennsylvania Archives, the Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York, and a number of other similar collections.

"In securing access to unpublished local records in the offices of town and county clerks, and like officials, the local resident often enjoys advantages lacking to the outside investigator. Passing over the undoubted advantage of personal acquaintance and local influence, the careful local investigator, working at this class of material, will usually be possessed of greater leisure and of the capacity of more speedy orientation in his field of labor.

"Records of parishes, too, even of non-Catholic parishes, frequently offer material of value in arriving at the solution of the larger problems of which local instances supply illustration. Though this class of material would, very obviously, be more difficult of access than the foregoing, yet it is possible of negotiation in some instances.

"Those living in larger centers, such as metropolitan cities, university towns and legislative centers, possess wider opportunities, but the investigation of the past of smaller towns is invaluable, and often reveals a general situation in a clearer light than is apt to be the case in larger places where the manifold cross-currents of urban life often tend to obscure the more simple and fundamental issues of passing movements.

"In the realm of secondary works, the investigator has, of course, to proceed with greater caution, and to be ready to discount much that he finds. The better class of these works, however, furnishes aid without which the investigator would be condemned to a much harder and more arduous task. The published histories of towns, counties and States, especially of the older ones, are often surprisingly accurate in their recital of facts. Then, too, the special studies of various aspects of our national life and of the major groups of our traditional American "melting pot," such as the French, German and Irish, are likely to be found illuminating on many of the more subtle aspects of our Catholic history.

"Even family histories are not to be passed over with total disdain. These are not so frequently to be had for our Catholic families, since the pioneers of the Faith were, in most instances, hardworking, busy folk, with but little time for tracing the roots and branches of the family tree. Not infrequently, however, valuable bits of information may be gleaned from the records of prominent non-Catholics families anent matters of Catholic interest, as, for instance, conversions, marriages with Catholics, and the like. The writer wishes here, however, to enter a protest and, perchance, a warning, against the troublesome and "habit-forming" evils that lurk in the way of the unwary skimmer of family histories. He could not rest easy if he felt that in his well-meant effort toward arousing a greater interest in the annals of a great institution he had ensnared some poor soul into the frightful vortex of ancestor-hunting.

"Histories of individual parishes, too, although often written in an uncritical manner, and not infrequently given to over-much laudation, frequently reveal much material that may be verified in the light of source-material. Diocesan histories, too, might be consulted, verified and, perhaps, expanded.

"A further valuable source, in the use of which the local resident enjoys a particular advantage, is to be found in the files of local papers. This class of material is surprisingly valuable for accounts of early religious happenings, and for records of the lives and activities of prominent Catholics. Especially are these valuable for the light which they shed on non-Catholic and anti-Catholic movements in the various localities."

We hope many of our readers will be encouraged by these suggestions to busy themselves in their own localities and send us the result of their investigations.

BOOK REVIEWS

Elizabeth Seton by Madame de Barberey, translated and adapted from the sixth French edition, by the Rev. Joseph B. Code, M. A., S. T. B. New York. The Macmillan Co. 1927.

Great men and women of the past continue to appeal to every new generation, and to find interested biographers. In early American and Catholic history Elizabeth Seton stands out as a shining light, and her variegated life will always be an inspiration. The present volume is not just another translation from the French. While it is possibly true that the best life of Mother Seton written thus far was in French, the translator has not hesitated to recast and to expand it wherever necessary, in the light of more complete and more accurate documents, freely made available to him. Therein lies its greatest merit.

A work of this kind, written with constant reference to the sources, is of real historical value. The American author—for such he may be rightly termed—has not deemed it necessary to obtrude his learning. Keeping in mind the general reader, to whom above all a book of this kind should appeal, he has wisely dispensed with a multitude of footnotes, content to incorporate his researches in the text, and relegating to a back page the more important source references, where anyone who is interested, may readily find and verify them for himself. The text itself becomes a smooth flowing narrative. In fact it is largely an autobiography, where the principal character has been allowed to law bare her soul in letters and diaries, with that older charm of mind and native English style which the French rendering of Madame de Barberey could not hope to equal.

The story takes us back to the days of pre-revolutionary America, when the loyalty of men such as Richard Bailey the physician, far removed from political agitations and crosscurrents, was severely tested by the Declaration of Independence and the subsequent long-drawn-out war. It unfolds itself along strange unfamiliar byways, as an invisible hand directs the destiny of young Elizabeth Ann Bailey on the tortuous road across the ocean, into Italy, back to New York, to end at last at home: in the Catholic Church and the blazing light of Faith, where she found intellectual certainty and happiness of soul in the midst of prolonged intense suffering.

The Seton and Bailey families have played a not inconspicuous role in American history. Anyone at all interested in America's past will be glad to meet their various members in these pages and to follow their vicissitudes. Quite naturally the religious Sisterhood of which Mother Seton became the foundress on American soil, plays the most important role. Its numerous communities are scattered over the wide country, and abroad, continuing the work which their foundress outlined for them with so much wisdom and vision.

The human element is never absent even from institutions that bear the unmistakable stamp of divine guidance. The rather acrimonious debates that brought about the erection of new congregations of Sisters of Charity independent of the original foundation, first in New York and later in Cincinnati, are ample proof to this effect. However it is hard to have patience with the labored attempts at overemphasizing the fact that these Daughters of Charity have no kinship with Mother Seton; are rebels as it were and aliens to Mother Seton's ideals. The New York and Cincinnati houses were founded with the full approval of ecclesiastical authority. They grew and prospered and did the work of Christ. It seems unfair and narrow to deny them, with meticulous insistence, all claims to Mother Seton. As well insist that among the various branches of the Franciscan and Benedictine Orders only one has an absolute right to claim St. Francis or St. Benedict as their spiritual father. With her all-embracing charity Mother Seton would hardly disown these other foundations where her spirit still presides. Yet it is to the credit of the historian that these internal quarrels have been recorded. In fact they might be even more fully recorded in a subsequent edition. The truth is never adversely affected by the daylight.

"Elizabeth Seton" is a novel from real life. It will deeply stir every reader: the young to ideals of high emprise attained through suffering; the mature to mellow reflection on their own past years, and a realization that duty well done is life's highest reward.

Rev. J. B. Culemans.

Moline, Ill.

Letters of a Bishop to His Flock, by His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, Benziger Brothers, New York and Chicago, 1927, $2.00.

Under this modest title, Cardinal Mundelein has given us an invaluable source book for the history of the Chicago Archdiocese

during the past eleven years. Though it purposes to be only a series of letters and addresses it indicates the achievements in various lines of Catholic spiritual and social development which have been accomplished under the Cardinal's guidance. In the foreword, we are told that His Eminence has recently refused to write a description of his ecclesiastical career, especially because the success which is visited upon the efforts of the heirarchy and clergy "differs from that of leaders in other walks of life, who may have and often do have God's blessing on their endeavors but who do not have that particular inspiration and supernatural aid that is promised those chosen to continue Christ's own mission among men," "But," His Eminence says, "the letters of a bishop to his flock are no longer his own. As soon as they leave his pen they influence those about him. For good or for ill they help to mould the conduct of his clergy and people and often the views of those not of his fold. They form part of the history of the diocese. They record for posterity the story of a people's loyal generosity to the successor of St. Peter; they detail the method by us adopted to keep fresh in mind of young and old the truths and precepts of our Holy Faith; they picture the growth year by year of the work of our organized Catholic Charities. Hence while this packet of letters, now in book form, may not prove a notable addition to the literature of our times, they do form a contribution to the contemporary history of the Catholic Church in Chicago."

How well they tell the story of the progress of the Church in Chicago in the past ten years, is evidenced by a glance at the titles of the letters and Addresses. In Group One, "Peter's Pence" the letters of 1918 and 1919 stressed the Pope's activities in War and reconstruction; the Pope as the Almoner of the World and the United States share in the charities of the Papacy are the burden of the letters of 1920 to 1923, which were followed in 1924 by a personal report of the Cardinal on conditions abroad and in 1925 by a statement of the Holy Father's expression of gratitude; and in the 1926 letter we have a recital of the Pope's interest in the Eucharistic Congress.

Group Two of the letters comprises the annual appeals in behalf of the Catholic Charities. This section tells us that "in 1918 the Associated Catholic Charities was organized by the Archbishop of Chicago. A group of men and women initiated the work designed to co-ordinate all charitable effort, to reduce the appeals for aid to one annual collection, to save the religious in charge from the burden of fund raising. With his organization completed, the

Archbishop of Chicago presents his case to the people, asking for the first "registration of the charitable" in his first letter. The second, third and fourth letters stress the advantages of unified charitable effort in increased efficiency and in widened scope of the relief work which has resulted in even greater generosity of the faithful because they feel that their charity is accomplishing much more than in former days of diffused effort. The letters of 1922 and 1923 bring out the value of the unified work and the increasing generosity, which in the 1924 letter is given the credit for the Holy Father's signalling out the head of the Archdiocese as the recipient of cardinalitial dignity. In 1925 and 1926 the attention of the Archdiocese was called to the benefits bestowed upon the city of Chicago itself in the rehabilitation of the poor, particularly the orphaned. His Eminence says, "we Catholics are proud of the contribution we have made to its citizenship which we have recruited and built up from the orphaned waifs of a big city."

Group Three covers the letters outlining the catechetical instructions which were made obligatory in all churches of the Archdiocese at the Sunday low Masses. These instructions originally covering the whole subject matter in three years, took up first, the Apostles' Creed, next the Commandments of God and lastly Prayer and the Sacraments. The third cycle was augmented in 1925 by a series of instructions on the Liturgy of the Church.

The fourth group, entitled, War and Peace, dwell upon the duties of Catholics as American patriots and also as almoners to the war sufferers in after-war Europe.

In the fifth group we have the Cardinal's pronouncements upon that crowning achievement of American Catholicity, the Eucharistic Congress.

Seven letters and six addresses are included in the final group, and cover a number of subjects. A eulogy of Cardinal Gibbons on the occasion of his fiftieth anniversary of his Episcopal Consecration, epitomizes the glory of that great churchman's career. Among other titles of interest historically in this section are "A Catholic College for Women," "The Holy Name Society," "The Propagation of the Faith," and "Dedication of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary.

It is our sincere hope that Cardinal Mundelein's example will be followed generally by the hierarchy, for the publication and diffusion of these official pronouncements makes certain their preservation for future historian. F. J. R.

The Pageant of America., By Ralph Henry Gabriel, and others, eds. Cambridge, Mass. Yale University Press, 1925.

English historians—all modern historians, in fact—but those especially under the leadership of Belloc and Chesterton are tireless in their efforts for a movement called the vitalization or humanization of history. And it is apparently toward this end that the series entitled The Pageant of America has been produced. Each volume presents American history under a different aspect although the general method is the same.

Ralph Henry Gabriel has written the Forewords, quite philosophic in tone and thought, giving the European background, origin, and development of the movement under consideration in a very general manner. The history of each particular period is organized under chapter headings which attract by their human interest appeals. Lives of characters form much of the material, for it is people, not fate or circumstance, who make history. Illustrations of source material consulted represent some of the best efforts in historical research and herein the advanced student will find the set valuable; quite frequently the write-ups are not sufficiently informative except in a scattered manner. Modern idealized representations of these periods as conceived by artists and sculptors of today are also used as illustrations. Care has been taken to make the indexes complete and the references exact.

Clark Wissler, Constance L. Skinner, and William Wood have combined authorship in Volume I, Adventures in the Wilderness. Herein is treated the history of early America, its discovery and exploration—including Mexico and Canada—to almost the end of the eighteenth century. The domestic, economic, and social life of the Indian are excellently illustrated by facsimiles of source material and reproductions of modern artists, notably those of George de Forest Brush. Achievements of such characters as Father Marquette and the Jesuits in New France, people who were primarily Catholics, are impartially treated.

Industrial history in its agricultural aspect alone is handled by R. H. Gabriel in Volume III, Toilers of Land and Sea. Besides those pioneers who draw from the earth, there are those, pioneers too, who draw from the sea, and in the last chapter, the history and methods of fishing are recorded.

Volume V, The Epic of Industry, by Malcolm Kier, is valuable for its well written text and its information about American industrial history; for its illustrations: maps which show the location

and distribution of industries, and graphs which form the bases for statistical comparison; for the correlation which brings related topics under one heading and thereby enriches that subject; for the recognition that is given Chicago as a part of the industrial world; and finally because of the democratic and therefore truly American spirit which raises the lowliest laborer to a place of dignity as an individual, for it is he who can cause or stop the rotation of the wheels of American industry.

Frederic Austin Ogg, in the eighth volume, Builders of the Republic, records the political history of America from the time of the early colonies to the election of Abraham Loncoln, the last of the "builders" of the republic, for after Lincoln the republic is firmly established.

In Volume XI, The American Spirit in Letters, by S. T. Williams, the standard of judgment becomes subjective. The question arises: Is it advisable to appraise the worth of productions in a history of literature? The judging of literary worth as such seems to be the prerogative of the critic although the historian certainly needs a discriminating sense in the collecting of facts. For many years American literature imitated the English literature of the period preceding. But the time arrived when the bonds of convention were thrown off and there emerged the "Literature of the New America." The study is inclusive from the earliest American attempts at writing to Edna St. Vincent Millay.

F. J. Mather, Jr., handles Painting and the Graphic Arts in Volume XII, The American Spirit in Art; C. R. Morey, Sculpture; W. J. Henderson, Music. Engraving, etching, and wood-cutting are more briefly treated. American art is proved to be a combination of many English characteristics plus the brilliancy of the French and the classicism of Italian Renaissance art. However, a thoroughly original poetic strain is found in the early landscape moods of American artists. Ralph H. Gabriel says, "The art life of this trans-Atlantic people, so long retarded by more pressing national tasks, has just begun."

That America will gradually evolve a distinctive type of architecture is not to be doubted. In Volume XIII, The American Spirit in Architecture, by T. F. Hamlin, the assertion is made that America suffered an architectural collapse about the time of the Civil War but that Chicago during the Columbian Exposition of 1893 saw the beginning of the American phase of the Renaissance in architecture. In the Exposition buildings the best that Greece

and Rome could offer was combined with colonial ideas. It is fitting that in this Pageant of America a splendid bit of writing should be done about the inspiring memorial to Lincoln in the city of Washington. There shines forth in the description and interpretation of that memorial the faith and idealism second only to that of Lincoln himself.

DOROTHY C. KLEESPIES.

Chicago, Ill.

ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

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First Bishop of Rockford,
1863-1927

Illinois
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME X APRIL, 1928 NUMBER 4

Right Reverend Peter James Muldoon, D. D., First Bishop of Rockford, 1863 - 1927

The national sorrow and regret voiced upon the demise of the Bishop of Rockford, Illinois, last October, is but today becoming a solemn reality. Towards the end of last autumn this great soul passed away, and only as the years advance and the absence of his firm, wise guidance is actually felt, will we come to a proper appreciation of his character and the work he has accomplished.

Peter James Muldoon was born of Irish parentage in Columbia, California, October 10, 1863. Here he received his primary education, making his preparatory course at St. Mary's College, Kentucky, and completing his theology at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. He was ordained priest by the first Bishop of Brooklyn, N. Y., the Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D. D., on December 18, 1886. He served as assistant at St. Pius Church, Chicago, for one year under Father Frank Henneberry and was then made chancellor of the Archdiocese. Later he was appointed to the pastorate of St. Charles Borromeo Church. In 1901 he was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago and was appointed Vicar General by Archbishop Feehan. In 1908 he was designated Bishop of the newly created See of Rockford, where he labored for nineteen years. This, in fine, is the factual background of the life history of a gentle character who embraced a life of labor and suffering, who accepted the cross of Calvary that he might kiss the feet of Christ, who devoted the many years of his strenuous life as a successor of Paul, not to reap a harvest, but to sow the seeds of virtue in fertile soil so that his successors might gather into the granary of Heaven the fruit of his labors. The background I have given is one that any uninterested historian might present,

but it is colored by the character of the man, is brilliant as the purple he wore with such distinction, and sets forth in bold relief the causes he espoused.

In the coat of arms of the lamented Bishop of Rockford was the inscription, "Pro fide et patria." He was loyal to his motto, for it expressed his principles. I conceive him as a great Catholic and a great American: great in the sense that his character excited love, admiration and interest. He was not a man who had solely a diocesan view of things and it is difficult, therefore, to consider his life only in the light of the head of a diocese. This man had a larger scope, he had an extra-parochial outlook, for he worked, not for the Church in Rockford alone, but for the Church in America: a characteristic not too frequently found in the chief pastor of a small diocese. He was ever the educated citizen, building schools, establishing social centers, contributing to charitable institutions, urging responsibility of civic duties, attending public meetings, fighting the battles of the oppressed, preaching love and peace and charity. Bishop Muldoon prided himself upon his nationality, he never forgot that he was a born American, that his work and his life belonged to the people of America as can be testified by his labors, not only in the Archdiocese of Chicago and his own See, but in the nation as well. He loved his country as few men love her; he was not a chauvinist by any means, yet he had a definite knowledge and understanding of what these United States meant to the world, of the good they could accomplish were they carefully guided away from materialism and selfishness and elevated to the higher plane of sound religion, charity and justice.

Bishop Muldoon was a man of vision who was capable of seeing things in their concrete adjustments. It was this quality, more than any other, which made him a zealous worker in social reform. The large number of immigrants coming into Rockford made it apparent to him that a social problem lay before him in the care of these souls. Acting without delay he brought foreign-born priests into the diocese, painted the futures of these peoples to them, foretold the vast and fruitful work which awaited them, and began the construction of churches. To keep the people within the fold, to guard them against dangerous doctrines, to make them citizens commanding the respect and confidence of their American compatriots, Bishop Muldoon placed social centers in their districts, Americanization halls within their parishes, and formed societies to bind them together. By these means he turned the people away from erroneous industrial doctrines, he changed their habits, customs and manners so that they would conform to those of America. He had seen the way to do it, and he

undertook the task cheerfully. He was the advocate of any sound and sane constructive program, for the mind of Bishop Muldoon was built along constructive lines which embodied an ideal of helpfulness, of building up the principles of the people to meet those of the Church and the Democracy in America. In his labor in the diocese in establishing the National Catholic Welfare Conference he had almost superhuman foresight in being able to foretell the work and the results which would come of it. Catholic laymen entered the catechetical field teaching and instructing where priests could not go, and many children lost to the Church were returned to the embrace of Peter. Particularly was this true among the foreign population who were somewhat lax in their duties. And as this social work succeeded in the diocese of Rockford so did it meet the needs of many of the dioceses of the United States, for it is impossible to conceive the work of the first Bishop of Rockford as being purely diocesan.

I know of no man who took into consideration, as did this beloved figure, the limitations of human nature. That is why he was known as a sympathetic man. Seldom would he chide his priests or people if they offended him; he bore silently opposition to what he knew would be for the best. To some extent this characteristic may have detracted not a little from his reputation as a disciplinarian. He was too loath to distrust those in his charge; he was patient with an offender almost to a fault. He always preferred to make a man rather than to break him. Few men suffered greater calumny, few men endured more unjust opposition and few men sacrificed more for a principle. It will take the healing influence of time to bring out completely the facts which these sentences are meant to convey. In his grasp he held great honors, yet was always fearful lest he did not deserve them. In defeat he used to say: "Well, we all get so much more than we rightfully deserve." Yet Bishop Muldoon was a confirmed optimist, smiling at all times, and ah, what a smile! His keen sense of humor warmed the hearts of all who knew him.

The Rockford Diocese, since his appointment, has seen remarkable growth in the spiritual life of the Catholic people. In comparing the statistics from the year 1909 to 1927, as given in the Catholic Directory, twenty-five new parishes have been established, seventeen parochial schools with an increase of three thousand seven hundred and fifty pupils, seven high schools, two hospitals and two homes for the aged have been built. There are seventy-eight more priests to administer to the twenty thousand increase in Catholic population. Bishop Muldoon believed in small parishes. He never urged the

erection of large churches, but rather sought to have a little church in every possible settlement so as to better reach his people.

Now these statistics stand as a monument to the work of the man. He was, by nature, an indefatigible worker. He occupied himself, outside his rapidly growing diocese, with numerous duties, many of which could have been considered relatively unimportant for such a gifted man. He thought nothing of traveling from Rockford to San Francisco and back to New York to attend committee meetings or conventions which he felt needed his presence and moral support. Regardless of his health he always found time to get everywhere. He was never too busy to sit through hours of dry and uninteresting speeches and lectures (as though they were a source of great pleasure to him) or to write a letter to one of his people, or again, to stop at colleges or schools for inspection, or to drop in at a church gathering to bid his people success in their work. This, I believe, was the key-note of his great popularity.

Bishop Muldoon, to have been a typical executive, could have employed representatives to do this tiresome work—the drudgery of a diocese—but in his keen sympathy and natural scrupulosity he was always present "in persona." For hours each day that he was at home he sat at his desk and answered in longhand most of the mail he received; consoling, congratulating, encouraging, advising and commanding. He knew that people treasured his letters; he used to laugh about them and say that he was "too old-fashioned and never got used to the typewriter." Now all this, and much more, was entirely unnecessary work which could have been accomplished under his direction by someone else. But I now of no greater tribute than to show this eccentricity for it demonstrates his consideration for his confreres, associates and people. It gave him unequaled popularity and the sense of dignity which the Bishop must have; it portrayed the generosity of his nature, the self-effacement, the simplicity and the sincerity of the man.

J. ALLEN NOLAN.

St. Viator College.

BISHOP MULDOON'S WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION SERVICES

In Michael Williams' book, "American Catholics in the War"—the only comprehensive story published to date summarizing the patriotic services rendered by the Catholic body of the United States during and after the World War—appears the following:

"This volume is respectfully and affectionately dedicated by the author to the Right Reverend Peter J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford and Chairman of the Administrative Committee, National Catholic War Council."

Those who are familiar with the splendid record written by the American Catholic body during this great crisis, and especially with the leading part which Bishop Muldoon personally played in inspiring, guiding and conserving to the nation the patriotic efforts of the Catholics of the country, will agree that Mr. Williams' dedication was eminently fitting; not indeed because Bishop Muldoon outstripped his fellow prelates in the American Hierarchy or other humbler citizens of his faith in patriotic zeal and loyalty to the interests of Church and Country during this period, but because his great willingness and capacity for service had the opportunity to manifest itself more prominently and effectively on account of the official position which he held as Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council—the organization formed by the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States to unify and coordinate the war services of the Catholic body and the agency officially recognized by the United States War Department as responsible for the handling of the problems devolving upon members of the Catholic Church in the United States because of the War.

Following the preliminary meetings held in 1917, when the first important steps were taken to organize a Catholic War Council (the first president of which was the Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., S. T. D.), Cardinal Gibbons proposed the formation of a new War Council to consist of the then fourteen Archbishops of the United States and an Administrative Committee of four Bishops. Cardinal Gibbons' proposal received the hearty endorsement of the Archbishops and Bishops of the country with the result that the following Administrative Committee was appointed: Rt. Rev. P. J. Muldoon, D. D., Bishop of Rockford, chairman; Rt. Rev. Bishops Joseph Schrembs, D. D., then Bishop of Toledo; Rt. Rev. Patrick J. Hayes, D. D., at that time Auxiliary Bishop of New York; and Rt. Rev. Wm. T. Russell, D. D., Bishop of Charleston.

In writing to Bishop Muldoon and the other members of the Administrative Committee under date of January 12, 1918, Cardinal Gibbons, after thanking the Bishops for having consented to undertake the work of the Catholic War Council and referring to the demands upon their zeal and sacrifice which the work would entail, said in part:

"Permit me to state clearly your position and authority. The Hierarchy has created a Catholic War Council consisting of the Board of Archbishops; but as the Archbishops cannot meet at present to organize the work of the Council and cannot give it the necessary time and labor, they desire to delegate their authority to Your Lordships as a committee to act in their name. . . . Your task will be to direct and control, with the aid of the Ordinaries, all Catholic activities in the War. . . . Our national Catholic societies, both of men and of women, should be enlisted in this work. . . . Call, too, upon any other Catholic forces which you may judge helpful to your work."

The Cardinal then proceeded to point out some particular problems requiring the attention of the Administrative Bishops—the spiritual needs of the soldiers in the camps, on the transports, and in France; the need of a sufficient number of chaplains both at home and abroad; the possible drafting of seminarians; the complicated question of raising funds; and a number of other pressing concerns incident to the prosecution of the War. Concluding his letter to the four Administrative Bishops, Cardinarl Gibbons' said:

"I commit to you then, dear Bishops, in the name of the Hierarchy, this very important work, confident that you will accomplish immeasurable good for souls and for the future of the Church."

On January 16, 1918, the Administrative Committee met at the Catholic University of America and agreed upon the scope and activities of the National Catholic War Council, the foundation of whose structure was the fourteen Archbishops of the country, the Administrative Committee of Bishops who derived full authority from the Board of Archbishops, and the Executive Committee composed of the four Bishops of the Administrative Committee and six members each from the Committee on Special War Activities, of which the Rev. John J. Burke, C. S. P., was chairman, and the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities, of which Wm. J. Mulligan was chairman.

The details of this magnificent contribution have been ably chronicled by Mr. Williams in the volume already mentioned. Sufficient it is to say here that for the first time in their history the Catholic people of the United States had, in the War Council, a representative *national* organization, one that safeguarded their interests in the multifarious questions arising out of the conduct of

the War; one that enabled their hitherto scattered and disorganized forces to assume a unity and a cohesiveness and, because of these, a resultant efficiency that added immeasurably to their ability to serve the nation and to advance the prestige and glory of the Catholic name.

Through the efforts of Bishop Muldoon's Committee, Catholic representation was secured on all war committees which discussed and molded national welfare and reconstruction policies. Catholic interests and Catholic principles were accorded recognition in all governmental welfare work. A mere tabulation of the accomplishments of the War Council would run beyond the space allotted to this article, but the reader will have some idea of the responsibility that devolved upon Bishop Muldoon's Committee in a consideration of just a few typical matters.

There were, for instance: the question of the appointment of Catholic chaplains in the Army and Navy and the task of securing, through measures enacted by Congress, an equitable quota of such; the organization of Service Clubs and Visitors' Houses; the establishment and conduct of Student Army Training Corps; the training of men and women war workers, field secretaries and welfare representatives to serve at home and overseas; keeping in touch with all Catholic chaplains in the various branches of the service and supplying their many needs; active co-operation with the Government in its widespread Americanization activities for the promotion of a more active and better informed citizenship; the establishment of rehabilitation schools and employment agencies for the aid of the discharged service men; the issuance and circulation, to the extent of millions of copies, of pamphlets dealing with social, civic and other problems of the hour.

Among these pamphlets might be mentioned in passing the "Civics Catechism on the Rights and Duties of American Citizens," which alone has had a circulation of one and one-half million copies, being translated into fourteen foreign languages; and "The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," hailed then, as now, as a sound charter of economic justice and brotherhood and the most forward-looking and enlightening document issued by any American group, dealing with the solution of present-day social problems.

All these and thousands of other equally important tasks were capably and effectively handled by Bishop Muldoon's Committee and, it may be added, at a cost totaling only one-thirty-fourth of the money raised in the United War Work Drive held in November, 1918. Perhaps never have funds donated by the general public been so carefully and conscientiously administered as a public trust. The

fact that Bishop Muldoon's Committee, with comparatively meager finances, was able to cover a field so far flung, so varied, and so important, is in itself a striking tribute to the ingenuity, resourcefulness and genius of Bishop Muldoon's direction of this work.

The accomplishments of the War Council were fully reported to the Archbishps and Bishops of the United States at the epoch-making meeting held at the Catholic University of America in September, 1919, and attended by 92 of the then 101 Ordinaries of the country. So impressed were the Bishops upon reviewing the glorious accomplishments of the Catholic people of the country serving under the direction of the War Council that they forthwith decided to convert the patriotism of strife into a patriotism of service, or, as they themselves stated in the national pastoral issued shortly thereafter, "to maintain the spirit of union and co-operation of our forces for the ends of peace." The organization of the National Catholic Welfare Council (later changed to Conference) was the outstanding result of this meeting—another tribute to the record build up by Bishop Muldoon and his co-workers in the work in the emergency organization.

The magnificent manner in which American Catholic resources were applied during and after the War in varied works of religion, welfare and reconstruction evoked the admiration of the entire Catholic world and caused the then reigning Pontiff, Benedict XV, to indite a most remarkable message to the American Hierarchy in which he placed a grave responsibility upon the Catholic Church and her members in the United States.

"The Universal Church," said the saintly Benedict, "now looks to America to be the leader in all things Catholic and set an example to all the other nations."

In giving their reasons later for the perpetuation of the War Council, the Bishops said in the national pastoral referred to:

"We have grouped together, under the National Catholic Welfare Council, the various agencies by which the cause of religion is furthered. Each of these, continuing its own special work in its chosen field, will now derive additional support through general co-operation. . . . The task assigned to each department is so laborious and yet so promising of results that we may surely expect with the Divine assistance and the loyal support of our clergy and people, to promote more effectually the glory of God, the interests of His Church, and the welfare of our Country."

Another appreciation of Bishop Muldoon's worth came in his selection at the 1919 meeting as Vice-President of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and Episcopal Chairman of one of its most important divisions, the Department of Social Action.

It is, of course, impossible to treat here of the work of the Conference during the eight years which intervened between the 1919 meeting and Bishop Muldoon's death in October of 1927; neither is there space to detail the further service of Bishop Muldoon as a member of the Administrative Committee of the Conference and Episcopal Chairman of its Social Action Department, during this time.

The conduct of this national work required personal service to an extraordinary degree. Great crises produce and test great characters. Bishop Muldoon was not found wanting. From his home in Rockford he traveled for monthly meetings to Washington. Oftentimes he would have to cover the distance twice a month. He bore a double burden—the care of his diocese, the problem of the national Catholic organizations—and he shirked not the two-fold burden.

The same outstanding qualities which characterized his work in the old organization—patience, foresight, perseverance, great administrative ability, tolerance, and a great wisdom which all who dealt with him regarded with the deepest deference and respect—were applied in the development of the new. His intense devotion to the ideals of the Conference and his unsparing labors in behalf of his own department undoubtedly hastened his death; but before he died he had the satisfaction of learning through the recent letter of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, of the Holy Father's appreciation of these eight pioneer years of effort and the Supreme Pontiff's declaration in that letter that "the Conference is not only useful but necessary to the Bishops of the United States."

Bishop Muldoon's own department, the scope of which included the fields of industrial relations, citizenship, social work, and rural welfare, presented many difficulties, but under his wise administration as Episcopal Chairman, it developed into a most helpful clearing house for Catholic social teaching, a bureau of information and standards with regard to the fields mentioned above, and an active organization assisting in promoting civic, social and economic welfare. Growing out of the Social Action Department there developed during Bishop Muldoon's regime a number of important conferences and committees, among which may be mentioned the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, the Catholic Rural Life Conference, and the Catholic Committee on International Peace, all of which profited as a result of Bishop Muldoon's planning and leadership and all of which reflected his own high standards of social justice and Christian brotherhood.

Only a few days before Bishop Muldoon's death, the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, meeting in annual session at the Catholic University of America, sent him a message expressing their appreciation of his work as a member of the N. C. W. C. Administrative Committee and their joy over his improved health. In a standing vote of thanks the entire body of Bishops praised Bishop Muldoon and his fellow prelates of the Administrative Committee for their unceasing labors and unparalleled accomplishments.

"If today," said His Eminence, Cardinal Hayes, in proposing this tribute, "we are, as a body, distinguished for a greater solidarity, a more progressive unity for the honor of God and the welfare of our fellowman, and the preservation and further extension of everything best in American life, we owe a debt of everlasting gratitude to these seven members of the American episcopate who, in hours of stress and strain, labored so successfully to make this hour possible.

"Grown out of a wartime patriotic work into a peacetime agency, the Conference has gone through a probationary period from which it has now emerged—a strong instrumentality for good."

Bishop Muldoon's personal part in the accomplishments both of the War Council and of the Welfare Conference pointed out by Cardinal Hayes undoubtedly cost him many years of life. The improvement in his condition reported at that time proved of but short duration and he died a few days later, mourned in his diocese and throughout the nation by legions of friends and admirers, who sensed the passing of a great servant of God and an outstanding benefactor of humanity.

This brief and altogether inadequate sketch of Bishop Muldoon's war and reconstruction services gives but a slight measure of the surpassing patriotism of this great prelate; of his intense loyalty to his Church and to his Country; of his burning zeal for all that would benefit humanity and hasten the reign of social justice throughout the world. Those who labored with Bishop Muldoon knew and loved him for these sterling characteristics. To them, as well as to the thousands who had not the privilege of intimate association with him but who aided in the promotion of his high ideals of social service, Bishop Muldoon's memory points the way like a beacon, pure and far-shining, to his own pathway of service—the service of God, Country and fellowman.

Among the martyrs to Church and Country history has already written in letters of gold the name of Peter J. Muldoon.

CHARLES A. MCMAHON,
Editor, N. C. W. C. Bulletin.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TRAVEL LITERATURE AS SOURCE MATERIAL FOR AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORY

(Continued from January, 1928)

PART III

TRAVEL LITERATURE FROM 1815 TO 1842

After the death of Archbishop John Carroll in 1815, the Church in the United States began that growth in numbers and in activities, which was one of the most phenomenal in the history of Catholicism. We have arbitrarily chosen the year 1842 as the *terminus ad quem* of our essay. During that year Canon Joseph Salzbacher of Vienna visited this country. His volume, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1842,* is in reality the first extensive account of Catholicism in the United States by a foreigner. This volume is so completely concerned with the Church in this country that it is not possible to include it within the limits of this essay. It will be remembered that during this period (1815-1841) the Catholic Church in the United States was face to face with Protestant opposition, which had the result of strengthening the grouping of Catholics all over the country.

JOHN PALMER

JOURNAL OF TRAVELS THROUGH THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA AND LOWER CANADA

(1817)

John Palmer was apparently a native of Lynn, in Norfolk. He sailed from Liverpool on March 28, 1817, on a visit to the United States and Canada. During the voyage he had for companions William Corbett and his two sons. Soon after his return to England, he published his *Journal of Travels Through the United States.* It contains particulars relating to the prices of land and provisions, remarks on the country and people, an account of the commerce of the principal towns and an interesting account of two sea serpents said to have been seen off Marblehead. A Dutch translation appeared about two years after the original. Sydney Smith in the *Edinburgh Review* described the work as one having been written by a plain man, of good sense and sound judgment.

There is nothing exceptional recorded in the pages of Palmer's journal. On four occasions he mentions the Church, but they were only passing remarks. The first concerned the Church in Boston:

There is but one Church of Catholics. (P. 185.)

This refers to the Church of the Holy Cross. About a year after Palmer visited the city and made this observation, the Church of Saint Augustine was started. Of Philadelphia we read:

There were three Catholic churches in 1790, and four in 1810. The Catholics are numerous in Philadelphia, supposed about 10,000. (P. 276.)

Saint Augustine's Church, Philadelphia, was built in 1797, and is the fourth Church in this record. Of New York City it is said:

There are two Catholic Churches. (P. 306.)

These are old Saint Peter's Church and the new Saint Patrick's which was dedicated a few years before the visit of Palmer. The only other mention of the Church is that there is a Catholic Chapel at Cahokia. (P. 415.)

DAVID B. WARDEN

Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States (1818)

David Baille Warden was a native of Ireland, who came to the United States for the purpose of education. He received his Doctor's degree in Medicine at the New York Medical College. Soon after he was appointed as a secretary to the United States Consul in Holland and later held the same position in Paris, where he died at the age of 67, in 1845. He wrote numerous works all of which were well received by the public. Considering the volume we treat here, Edward Everett in a book review of the time of the first edition claimed that it contained more information about the United States than any other book in print.

Warden relates of Massachusetts:

Anabaptists, Jesuits and Quakers were banished in 1644, as "Incendiaries of the commonwealth, the infectors of persons in matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been." (I, p. 303.)

and that in New Jersey the law read:

All persons professing belief in the Faith of any *Protestant Sect,* and demeaning himself peaceably, shall be capable of being elected into any civil office, and shall freely participate of every privilege and immunity. (II, p. 48.)

The above are but two examples of the early legislation which was enforced against the Catholics.

Of Bardstown the traveler wrote:

There is a Catholic Bishop, but of the Catholic profession there is a small number. (II, p. 337.)

Bishop Flaget, when he arrived in Bardstown in 1811, only eight years before Warden wrote, found it destitute of all signs of Catholicity. Until a Church and house could be erected at Bardstown, the Bishop lived at St. Stephens at Priestland. In the entire diocese there were ten Churches and twenty-four stations visited by a handful of priests.

In Louisiana things were not in such a primitive condition as regards Catholicism. Warden gives some very interesting figures regarding the salaries of missionaries in those parts:

The clergy, before the late cession of Louisiana, consisted of a non-resident Bishop, who had $4,000 a year, from the revenues of certain Bishoprics in Mexico and Cuba; of two canons with a revenue each of $600 and twenty-five cures, of which five were for New Orleans and twenty for the different parishes of the provinces, each having from $360 to $480 a year. All these disbursements except the pay of the Bishop, and the expenses of the Chapel were paid by the Treasury of New Orleans, and amounted annually to the um of $13,000. The convent of the Ursulines, established in 1727, by the Company of the West, for the education of female orphans contained a few years ago, twenty-eight nuns. The establishment is under the direction of thirteen religiouses. The same building contains a public school, established for the instruction of day scholars, at a dollar a year, of whom at the above period the number was eighty. (II, p. 551.)

The following regulations he says are those of Georgetown and were the same as those of the other Catholic Colleges in the country:

The Catholic College of Georgetown, founded in 1790, erected and supported by subscription, under the direction of the incorporated clergy of Maryland. . . . To be admitted as a pensioner, the student must be a Roman Catholic. If a Protestant, he boards in a house convenient to the College, where he enjoys equal advantages with the Catholics, except as to admission to the instruction and exercises of the Roman religion. (III, p. 201.)

The following excerpt is interesting, very probably taken from some conversation:

The Roman Catholic denomination is more numerous in Maryland and Louisiana, than in any other state. The Roman Catholics of Maryland are chiefly Irish, those of Louisiana of French origin. Some years ago, the number in Maryland was 75,000. In Baltimore there is an Archbishop and four Bishops, and three churches; in Boston a church and a Bishop; in New York two Churches and a Bishsop; in Philadelphia four churches and a Bishop; in Bardstown, one; in Kentucky, one; in Louisiana, one; with two canons and twenty-five curates, who receive about $500 a year. (III, p. 484.)

The author was most likely informed that there was an archbishop at Baltimore and four bishops under him. At that time there was no Bishop in Philadelphia, Bishop Conwell not being consecrated until the following year. The mention of Bardstown and Kentucky doubtless are in reference to the same See.

There is a passing mention of the Catholics in New York, and a statement that the Catholic Congregations in Pennsylvania in 1802 numbered eleven.

JACQUES MILBERT

Intineraire Pittoresque du Fleuve d'Hudson (1821)

Jacques Milbert, who was a Catholic, visited this country in 1821. He toured the northern part of the State of New York spending most of his time in that section. He made a brief stay in New York City, where he first saw Bishop Cheverus, and later traveled to Boston and met the Bishop personally. There is not a great deal of matter in the book for our purpose, but the few references that are found are valuable.

In his introduction Milbert gives us a very concise picture of Bishop Cheverus. It points out the reverence in which this prelate was held in the minds of all, both Catholics and non-Catholics. Nor are we forced to wonder at this when viewing the zeal, the charity, the poverty and the humility of the Apostle of Boston. The account is as follows:

It was at New York, that I had the occasion to see for the first time, M. de Cheverus. Induced by his reputation of pastoral eloquence, I attended one of his exhortations. His sweet and persuasive voice had such an effect on me, that I had the desire to know him more intimately. Some time after, on going to Boston, I had

the honor of being presented to this gentleman, who welcomed me with the greatest cordiality, and who said to me on showing me the one room that he occupies in a house, "You see the Episcopal palace, it is open to the whole world." Such is the sway of virtue on hearts that in this city, which contains a great number of dissenting sects, all opposed in practice and spirit, the name of the French Bishop is never pronounced but with veneration by all mouths. In fact who could help but be moved, on seeing this venerable minister of the gospel, alone and on foot at all hours of the day and night, in all seasons, carrying miles distant, consolations to the afflicted, secret help to the needy, words of concord and peace to divided families. (XIV-XVI.)

The author then tells of the Bishop visiting him when he was sick. In the body of the book Milbert relates that on two occasions he was present at the consecration of churches in Northern New York. The first was that consecrated by Bishop Connolly at Utica on August 19, 1821:

In an isolated place there is an elegant new Catholic church constructed of wood and in the Gothic style; I assisted at the ceremony of consecration, which was made by the Bishop of New York. (I, p. 154.)

A little later he says of the Church at Carthage, New York:

I must not omit that on a hill, there rises a little church, surmounted by a clock and lantern. It has been constructed at the expense of M. Leray de Chamont, and is destined for the worship of Irish Catholics, who with a certain number of English and Americans. form almost the entire population of the town. M. Connolly, Bishop of New York, made the consecration during my stay at Leray-Ville. It is to serve the two-fold purpose of Church and public school, for in the United States, each community, of whatever little importance it might be, is obliged to have a school, and to support at its own expense a master, etc. (II, p. 29.)

Nothing else to our purpose is recorded except a word about the Church at Boston:

The Catholics possess a church in Boston, and a chapel in the cemetery of that city. The venerable ecclesiastics who serve the Catholic Church of Boston, go often to preach the gospel to the savages of the Penobscot, a place situated at the eastern extremity of the State of Maine. (II, p. 20.)

The chapel of the Penobscots was located at Point Pleasant and attended by Father Romagne, who made his winter quarters at the church at Newcastle. Bishop Cheverus visited this Indian mission the year after his consecration and confirmed 122 souls. The Bishop was received with enthusiasm by the Indians, for he

had been their missionary. Bishop Plessis visited the mission at the request of Bishop Cheverus in 1815, and he himself spent two months of the following year among them. In 1825 Bishop Fenwick wrote that there were about 400 souls at the mission and they were at that time without a pastor.

WILLIAM H. BLANE

An Excursion in the United States and Canada (1822-1823)

After traveling through almost all of Great Britain and Ireland as well as the most of the Continent, especially Holland, France, Switzerland and Italy, Blane determined to visit the United States. He was desirous of seeing the New World and of being personally acquainted with the conditions here, the descriptions which he read being apparently filled with contradictions. He set sail from England in the summer of 1822, and having arrived in this country visited most of the large cities of the coast and went as far west as St. Louis. One chapter of his book is devoted to a summary of a religious conditions of the country, but there is very little in it for any religious kind. After a fair description of the Baltimore Cathedral, Blane adds:

> This Cathedral was built by a lottery, which is no doubt a moral and convenient method of raising money, but which might induce a heretic to suppose that the builders were at the same time serving God and Mamon. (P. 35.)

There were two lotteries held for the erection of the Cathedral. The first was held in 1804, and referred to by Charles W. Janson in his journal of America. There was a second held in 1819 and doubtless is the one to which Blane here makes reference.

Like the other travelers of this period, Blane could not refrain from telling all that he had heard about the Hogan case, being, as are all of these accounts, a non-Catholic view of the whole affair:

> The Roman Catholics are not very numerous in the United States, and the following anecdote may tend to prove that some persons among them are disposed to be wiser than in the good old times.

Mr. Hogan, the officiating priest in the Catholic Cathedral in Philadelphia, gave great offense to the zealous, by leaving out the more absurd of the ritual. The Bishops, finding that he was obstinate in his error, fulminated against him the sentence of excommunication. This sentence, which cursed every individual member in Mr. Hogan's body, was printed in most of the journals of the day, in one of which I read it. Mr. Hogan, however, laid the whole case before his congregation, who desired him to set at naught the aforesaid sentence. Being supported by the majority of the subscribers who built the Cathedral, Mr. Hogan continued to officiate. The Catholic Bishop then applied to the Pope, who also excommunicated Mr. Hogan; and some fanatics, several of whom were Irishmen, animated by this sacred diploma, seized upon the Cathedral and prevented Mr. Hogan from officiating. Upon this, the whole affair was laid before the judicial court of the State of Pennsylvania, which, in conformity with the law of the United States, decided that the people who built the Cathedral had a right, not only to appoint their own officiating priest, but even if they please to change their place of worship, one day into a mosque, and the next day into a barn, or, in other words, to do what they liked with it. All this made a great noise at the time, and just before I left the United States, I was informed that the grand jury of Philadelphia had presented the Pope as a nuisance for having stirred up contention among the inhabitants of their city, and for having interfered in the spiritual concerns of the United States. The reader may imagine the ridicule which this occasioned. (P. 489.)

G. C. BELTRAMI

A Pilgrimage in Europe and America (1823)

Beltrami, a French traveler, came to the United States in 1823, evidently for the purpose of exploring the Northwest Territory. He fell in with the expedition of Major Long at Fort St. Peter and continued with him for a time. In his account, Beltrami claims that he was harshly treated by Long and for that reason separated from his company. He then continued his independent explorations and claims for himself the discovery of what he named Lake Julia, the "most northern sources of the Mississippi, sources until now unknown." There is little known about the life of the author, except what is here recorded, taken from his own book.

Beltrami does not seem to have missed an instance that would reflect unfavorably upon the Church. His first instance is that of the Hogan case and the Church of Philadelphia:

The Catholic Church of St. Mary has recently been the scene of a great scandal. The congregation actually came to blows about a

priest who was the choice of the people, but rejected by the Bishop and his partisans. This is the way in which our holy religion is everywhere honored and recommended by the conduct of its professors. (II, p. 44.)

Likewise in St. Louis he became aware that all was not as it should be, and he writes:

The Catholics are the most numerous in St. Louis, but their priests here as elsewhere, bring shame and contempt on Catholicism. They arrogate a spiritual jurisdiction over balls, polite amusements, etc., and pry into family secrets; then they sow discord among some and disgust others with their interference, and thus scatter schism and scandal in all directions. Instead of gaining proselytes, they make apostates. It seems that even here they are resolved to justify the often repeated accusation, that Bishops and Jesuits are the fittest instruments for the oppression and degradation of mankind. It is hoped that a more enlightened clergy will arise and see the danger of defiling religion. (II, p. 125.)

That such was true is too well known. It was the greatest obstacle that met Bishop Du Bourg after his consecration. Scandals and infidel opposition had caused the region along the Mississippi to be most barren and almost void of religion. The European priests who had come to the aid of Bishop Du Bourg began at once to revive the faith in those parts. Some few of them faltered before the obstacles and difficulties and the almost impossible task that was theirs.

The Jesuits were, it seems, the avowed enemies of Beltrami. Speaking of the Indians at La Plata, he states that they have been trained by the Jesuits to follow their (Jesuits) wills in everything. He then laments the fact that this society is trying to re-establish their dominion over the world. (II, p. 165.) When he deems it well to praise the work of the French missionaries in general, the Jesuits are excluded, and Bishop Du Bourg, as we will quote below, is accused of Ultra-Jesuitism. The traveler was not unaware of the fact that the Indians were not to be judged as to religious profession by the religious articles they carried. The same fact was noticed at an earlier date and mentioned by Charlevoix and Chateaubriand. The latter may have derived this knowledge from Beltrami, as was the case in other statements that he makes. In this matter Beltrami says:

Religious external signs might lead one to the conclusion that these savages (those at Fort St. Peter) are Catholics or at least Christians, for almost all of them, particularly the women, wear crosses. (II, p. 212.)

He explains that to draw the conclusion that these Indians were Christians would be incorrect. The Red men came in possession of the crosses when the missionaries distributed them. After the *Black Robes* had departed the crosses reminded the Indians of their former hopes and the piety of the missionaries, and became their favorite ornaments.

At Red River, below St. Louis, he made the following observation:

Two Catholic priests have also established themselves here, but as neither the Government nor the Company gave them any means of subsistence, they went away, and the church, constructed of the trunks of trees, is already fallen into ruins.

Their departure is more to be regretted as not only does it deprive these regions of every source of instruction, which could be derived from these ecclesiastics alone, but the Bois Brules will relapse into their former state of barbarism by losing whatever good they have gained from their evangelical precepts.

Then follows a section mentioned before as having been misquoted by Chateaubriand:

To do justice to truth, the French missionaries, when not Jesuits, have invariably distinguished themselves everywhere by an exemplary life, befitting their profession. The religious sincerity, their apostolic charity, their remoteness from austerity and fanaticism fix in these countries memorable epochs in the annals of Christianity. (II, p. 354.)

Florissant, Missouri, was only at this time starting to take shape as a religious center. Our author noted this development:

M. Du Bourg, the Bishop of St. Louis, has already formed an establishment of nuns, well calculated to promote the education of the daughters of persons residing here, and also another of the Jesuits, by whose means he proposes to spread the Catholic religion among the Indians dispersed over the border countries. May they answer the evangelical and philanthropic views of this prelate, if he sincerely entertain such! But the Ultra Jesuitism which he has hitherto promulgated authorizes the belief that he is merely the zealous tool of the Junta of Montrouge. Several well informed persons have assured me that the principle of these gentry is in perfect accordance with the vulgar maxim, "To stick by one another." (II, p. 494.)

The nuns mentioned here are the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who had come from France and opened a school at St. Charles in 1818. It was only after some years that the school was moved to Florissant. The Jesuits were those who had been at Whitemarsh when the noviciate was broken up in 1823. Father Van Quickenborne and his novices accepted the invitation of Bishop Du Bourg and settled on a farm near Florissant.

A typical case of Indian devotion for their missionary is related of the natives at Sioux Portage, where they heard that he was at hand, and they flocked about him and:

asked for their common father, M. Acquaroni, an Italian priest who was resident among them for three of four years. He is vicar of the Cathedral at New Orleans, coadjutor of abbe Moni, both of whom are models of virtue. (II, p. 497.)

Father Acquaroni was a Lazarist, who attended the mission here as well as at St. Charles and Dardennes. Father John A. Moni was the rector of the Cathedral in New Orleans at the time of his death in 1842.

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

Notions of Americans; Picked up by a Traveling Bachelor (1824-1828)

Cooper hardly needs an introduction. He was not a traveler in America, but a native, having been born in Burlington, New Jersey. His *Spy* and *Last of the Mohicans,* are two of his works that are widely read even in our own day. The volume that we here consider, *Notions of Americans,* purport to be notes taken by an Englishman and published by Cooper. Who the author was we do not know. The book does not contain a great amount that is to our purpose. There are but two references, the first being to Philadelphia during the visit of LaFayette.

Among the thousands that gathered around that venerable Frenchman, were all the clergy of the city. They were more than sixty in number, and at the head appeared the Protestant Episcopal Bishop, with the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church at his side. The former, who is a native of the country, and one of the oldest divines, delivered the sentiments of his brethren; but had the latter, who is a foreigner, been of greater age and longer service, he would have been, undoubtedly, selected to have performed the same ceremony. . . although in theory, all denominations in the United States are equal before the law, there is, in point of fact, no country in the world that is more decidedly Protestant than this, and yet I do believe it

would give scandal to the whole nation, to learn that a slight or offense of any nature were given to a priest, merely because he happened to belong to the Roman Catholic communion. (II, p. 136.)

It was in October, 1824, that LaFayette visited Philadelphia. Bishop Conwell and Bishop White, of the Protestant Church, were the two who are here mentioned as being at the head of the Procession. The second remark concerning Catholics is a general one:

The Roman Catholics are the most numerous in Maryland and Louisiana. The first was a Roman Catholic colony and the latter, as you know, has been both French and Spanish. The Floridas must also contain some Catholics. Many of the Irish who came to this country, and are settled in the more northern states, are also Catholics; but including all I should not think that they rank higher, in point of numbers, than the sixth or seventh sect, after allowing for all the subdivisions among the Protestants themselves. (II, p. 232.)

The numbers of Catholics at this time was not generally known. There was, too, a feeling on the part of many that the Church was not to succeed in this country.

CARL BERNHARD, DUKE OF SAX WEIMAR

Travels through North America

(1825-1826)

Bernhard, the Duke of Sax Weimar, was a military officer in the service of the King of Netherland. From his earliest years, he had desired to visit the new world, more from curiosity than from any other motive. The journal of his travels was kept in order that on his return to Europe he might satisfy the inquiries of parents and friends. His notes were read by a number of the friends and they desired that the book be published. After some persuasion Bernhard yielded to this entreaty. He started his journey from Ghent in April, 1825, after he had been given an eighteen months leave of absence by the King, and a government boat was at his disposal to cross the Atlantic. He arrived home in July, 1826.

Very early in his tour, Bernhard visited Baltimore, where he met Archbishop Marechal, of whom he writes:

I was introduced in the Church to the Archbishop of Baltimore, M. Marechal, who is the Catholic Primate of the United States. He is a native of France, and has resided in the United States since 1792, whither he first came as a missionary. He is spoken of as a man of great activity and much spirit. His exterior is of great simplicity; he is of small stature and animated. When he first addressed me,

with his book under his arm, I took him for a French teacher, but he very soon presented himself to me as the Archbishop.

The State of Maryland contains the greatest number of Catholics, with the exception of the States of Louisiana and Florida, where the Catholics, on account of the wealth they possess, have some influence. (I, p. 163.)

Marechal was ordained priest in 1792 and had come to America before saying his first Mass. Bernhard then relates:

I was twice in the Catholic Cathedral, the first time on Sunday, October 30th. The desire of hearing good music decided me on going to this church, and I had no occasions to regret it. . . . The Charity sermon, by Mr. Wheeler, on Charity and pleasure of doing good, was very edifying. The text had been chosen to move the hearts of the congregation, on behalf of the Catholic Poor school. Several days after I returned to the Cathedral in company with Mr. Vallenilla, of the Columbian legation, to see Dr. Fenwick consecrated Bishop of Boston. The Church was crowded. . . . I do not remember to have heard such good music for a long time. . . . The ceremony lasted very long. I remained from ten o'clock until two and then left the church. The service continued until three P. M. The Archbishop himself officiated in pontificalibus, with a mitre of gold cloth, and his gilded croisier-staff. He was served by the Bishops of Charleston and Philadelphia, who wore mitres of cloth of silver. The first, Mr. England, delivered a long sermon, with a strong Irish accent, of which I did not understand much, except that he drew a comparison between a republican state citizen and a good Catholic. He spoke with much vehemence, and was very declamatory. It is said that this prelate is one of the pillars of the Romanish Church in the United States. (I, p. 168.)

Father Wheeler, who is mentioned here, became the chaplain to the Sisters at the Visitation Convent at Georgetown the following year. He was theologian for Father Matthews at the first Baltimore Council. In 1832, he fell a victim to cholera, while helping those already afflicted with the disease. Bishop Fenwick was consecrated on All Saints' day, 1825. The Bishop of Philadelphia at this time was Bishop Conwell.

The next Catholic center that attracted Bernhard was New Orleans. He describes the Cathedral and then says:

On Sundays and holydays, this church is visited by the beau monde; except on these occasions, I found that the most of the worshippers consisted only of blacks and colored people, the chief part of them females. (II, p. 56.)

A short sketch of Bishop Du Bourg follows and we here find the first traveler who mentioned that the Episcopal Palace was a "quon-

dam nunnery." The Ursulines had removed to the outskirts of the city and the Bishop had taken their house as his palace.

I paid a visit to the Bishop of Louisiana, Mr. Dubourg, and was very politely received. He is a Jesuit, a native of St. Domingo, and appears to be about sixty years old. He delivers himself very well, and conversed with me concerning the disturbances in the diocese of Ghent, in the time of Prince Broglio, in which he as counsellor and friend of that Prince, took an active part. In his chamber, I saw a very fine portrait of Pius VII, a copy of one painted by Camuccini, and given by the Pope to the deceased duke of Saxe-Gotha. The Bishop inhabited a quandam nunnery, the greater part of which he had assigned for and established a school for boys. The Bishop returned my visit on the next day. (II, p. 64.)

He also relates that the Bishop told him how he had acquired a set of French Encyclopedao in Flanders, when a good Catholic peasant was about to burn them, because they contained articles against the Church. (II, p. 83.) He then proceeds to St. Charles, concerning which place he wrote:

The place may contain 1,000 inhabitants who nearly all belong to the Catholic faith, and have a small wooden church. I spoke to the present pastor, Verheggen, a native of Ghent, a young man, who, with Abbe Maehout, in Pensacola, and many other young students from Flanders, accompanied Bishop Dubourg on his return from Europe. Abbe Verheggen told me that eight Flanders clergymen were appointed as pastors through the State, or placed in the Seminary five miles from St. Genevieve. (II, p. 99.)

It seems probable that the author is here referring to Father Verhaegen, who was among the Jesuits at Whitemarsh, and answered Bishop Du Bourg's invitation to go into his new diocese. If this is so, the priest did not accompany the Bishop from Europe. It is certain that Father Verhaegen was still in the West, and was made President of the new College at St. Louis a few years later.

Father C. Maehaut, who was then pastor in Pensacola, was appointed rector of the Cathedral in New Orleans in 1842.

On board the steamer at Cincinnati Bernhard made the acquaintance of a priest, of whom he writes:

Among the passengers was Abbe Martial, a Frenchman, who had kept a boarding school in New Orleans for a long time, and was at that time employed by the Bishop of Kentucky to Bardstown, on whose account he was to travel in France and Italy. (II, p. 134.)

Father Martial was a very dear friend of Bishop Du Bourg. The college which he directed was on the site of the new Ursuline Convent. This good priest was another of the cholera victims. As

regards his errand in Europe, we can find no evidence. Shea mentions that Father Nerinckx and Chabrat were in Europe to collect funds in 1821, but there is no mention of Father Martial, nor of his having ever been under the jurisdiction of Bishop Flaget. Cincinnati itself offered much for the traveler to see. His description of the incidentals is valuable:

I called on Bishop Fenwick, but he was not at home. I have met with a clergyman who was a native of Hildeshiem, his name was Rese, who was educated in the Propaganda in Rome. This man showed me the old and new Cathedral. The former was built of wood, resembling a German village church; in its interior the splendid episcopal seat is particularly distinguished. The altar has but few ornaments, with the exception of four silver chandeliers, which the Queen of Eturia gave to Bishop Fenwick for his church, and a gilded tabernacle, the gift of Pope Pius the seventh. . . . The church has not any bells; with respect to these the clergy expected some contribution from Italy. The Vicar General of the Bishop was Abbe Hill. He had formerly been a captain in the British army, and, having become a Catholic while in Italy, entered the Dominican order. He was said to be a great preacher. (II, p. 137.)

Even when he had departed from the country, Bernhard continued to record American Catholic History. It is about a certain Father Richards, a fellow passenger on the return trip across the Atlantic:

With regard to Abbe Richards I heard it stated that he had been originally a Protestant minister in Virginia, and had removed to Montreal, to endeavor to make proselytes in the seminary of that place, but in his controversies, he became so won to the Catholic Faith, that he was not only converted, but likewise took the orders of the Catholic Priesthood. (II, p. 205.)

The only priest we can find record of as being in the States at that time under this name, is Father Richards of the New Orleans Diocese, who was later Vicar General. There is a passing mention of a church in Philadelphia, and Fredrickstown.

JAMES STUART

Three Years in North America (1828-1831)

James Stuart was born in Dunearn in 1775. He attended the public schools of Edinburgh, and, after graduation from the University of Edinburgh, was admitted to the Society of the Writers to

the Signet. He was a keen politician of the Whig side and suffered a number of personal attacks because of his political affiliations. These led him into much trouble and in March, 1822, he killed Sir Alexander Boswell in a duel. He fled to Paris and there gave himself up to the Ambassador. Returned to England for trial he was acquitted. A few years later he sailed for America, and in 1833 published his *Three Years in North America.* He showed therein a strong bias in favor of the Americans and, following hard upon Mrs. Trollope along the Mississippi and Ohio, he lost no opportunity of contradicting the ill humored contention that appeared in her book of travels. After his return to England he became the editor of the *Courier.* He died at Notting Hill, London, in November, 1849. He was married but left no family.

Stuart is the only traveler who left in his account a mention of the demonstrations with which the people of the United States greeted the news of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. He writes of this in two different places:

While I was at Philadelphia the news arrived there of the Royal assent being given to the Catholic Emancipation Bill. Great rejoicings took place. The mayor ordered the bells, especially the great old bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States in 1776, to be tolled, and to ring during the whole day. Public rejoicings on this occasion took place in all the towns of the United States, especially at New York and Baltimore. Contributions had been sent to the subscriptions in Ireland for the forwarding of Catholic Emancipation from the United States, especially from Maryland, a considerable part of the population of which consists of Roman Catholics. (I, p. 378.)

I was at Philadelphia when the news of the emancipation of the Catholics in Ireland arrived and I do not believe that greater public joy was shown in London, on account of that long delayed triumph of Justice and liberality, than in Philadelphia. (II, p. 574.)

We judge that this rejoicing was spread over the United States, and while there is no record available to tell to what extent American money was an aid to the cause, it was probably considerable, for Catholics of Maryland were fairly wealthy. It is a pleasing thought, too, to know that the same Liberty Bell which rang out the freedom of the United States was later to sound the freedom of the Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland.

Stuart goes on to speak of the Catholics:

The gentleman at present at the head of that body is Charles Carroll. It was at his expense chiefly that the Roman Catholic

Cathedral at Baltimore was built. The present number of Roman Catholics is calculated at 500,000; some persons make it higher by 200,000 or 300,000. (I, p. 378.)

Stuart most likely means that Charles Carroll was then the outstanding Catholic layman. He was at this time the only surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence. Carroll can hardly be said to have seen to the erection of the Baltimore Cathedral, chiefly at his expense. There were two lotteries held to raise money for the erection of the Cathedral, one in 1804, which John Carroll won and turned over to the Cathedral, and the other in 1819. The money raised by these two lotteries, together with the private subscriptions of the people of Baltimore and the sale of pews, made up the greater amount of the cost of the building. Charles Carroll had built the Church of St. Mary at Annapolis out of his own funds. Concerning the appearance of the Cathedral, he says:

It is very large and handsome . . . the interior is well fitted, and there are a few good pictures; the organ is very fine. (I, p. 392.)

The only other mention of the Church is concerned with the West. In Louisville he noted:

Father Abel, an eloquent preacher, in soliciting subscriptions for a Catholic paper charged the Catholics of the United States with supineness and lukewarmness in not encouraging such publications. There were, he said, 700,000 in the United States and only four periodical publications, ill supported, published at Boston, Baltimore, Charleston and some other city, the name of which did not reach my ear. (II, p. 327.)

Father Robert A. Abel, who is here mentioned, was most likely in his own church of St. Louis when Stuart heard him speak. This church was built by Father Abel and consecrated by Bishop Flaget about the time that Stuart was in that vicinity. This priest was a close friend of the Bishop and accompanied him on many of his trips as well as making a number of tours for him. The Bishop was with Father Abel when news arrived from Rome that the Holy See had accepted the former's resignation. The newspaper, the place of publication of which Stuart had failed to catch, was probably the one for which subscriptions were being taken, namely, the *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati, founded by Bishop Fenwick that same year. It is noted, too, that Father Abel was not aawre of the *Truth Teller,* published in New York since 1825; or of the *Catholic Press,* which appeared in Hartford in 1829.

LORENZO DE ZAVOLA

Viage a los Estados-Unidos del Norte de America (1829)

Lorenzo de Zavola is a little known character. We have found nothing of his life in any encyclopedia and his own book gives no hint as to whom he might have been. He entered the United States at New Orleans after having toured Mexico, which accounts for his frequent comparison of our Churches with those of Mexico. He is evidently a Catholic for he shows familiarity with all things Catholic. He traveled up the Mississippi and Ohio, then to Niagara and down to New York and New England, with a short trip to Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. The book was published in Paris in 1834.

The first mention of things Catholic is at New Orleans:

As in all Catholic countries, Sunday is a day of diversions in New Orleans. The shops of the Catholics are open; there are dances, music and feasts. . . . The cathedral is a small church, following no regular line of architecture, and which is nothing when compared with the churches of Mexico. The altars are like those of our towns except that the images are much larger . . . in the Catholic Church the Negro and the white, the slave and the master, the noble and the poor are gathered before the same altar. Here there is a temporary forgetting of all human distinctions. . . . In this sacred place there disappears the stamp of degradation from the forehead of the slave and he is admitted with the rich and free and offers up his chants and prayers with them to the God of nature. In the Protestant Church it is not so. The colored people are excluded or separated into one place by a lattice work or ballustrade. The most miserable slave receives from the hand of the Catholic priest all the consolations of religion. . . . Father Antonio de Sedella, a Capuchin, is the mouthpiece of the negroes, and is respected by all classes of the population. He is a Spanish priest, being esteemed for his friendliness, his tolerance and other virtues. (Page 25.)

At Cincinnati the author wrote:

There are eight Churches here, one of them a Roman Catholic Cathedral. (Page 70.)

Baltimore is the next place that drew a comment from the author concerning the Catholic faith. The Cathedral at Baltimore, he says:

Is one of the finest churches in the United States. It can not be compared with the cathedrals of Mexico and Puebla, and much less with the ancient edifices of Europe. Notwithstanding, the interior

of the church is very pleasing because of its cleanliness, its paintings and its statues. Another Catholic edifice that draws the attention of the traveler in Baltimore, is the chapel of the College of St. Mary's. (P. 199.)

There follows a description of the chapel of the College and, like most others, is very favorable. At Washington the traveler did not fail to notice Georgetown College, but was not aware that the institution was under the Jesuits, or that there was a regular tuition for the students there. He writes:

A mile from Washington is Georgetown, in which place there is a convent of humble nuns and brothers of the Visitation, having as their principal occupation the free education of the youths confided to their care. (P. 259.)

The only other mention in regard to the Church is, that in New York all Churches are governed by trustees.

GODFREY T. VINGE

Six Months in America
(1831-1832)

Godfrey T. Vinge was an English barrister, who, after visiting the various countries of Europe, came to the United States. He came, as he says in his preface, "alone, un-bewifed and un-bevehicled, as a man ought to travel, and with the determination of being, as far as an Englishman can be, unprejudiced." His intention was to see in the space of six months all that he could of the United States, and, after reading his succinct and straightforward account, one does not wonder that he covered as much ground as he did in six months. His two volumes make excellent and interesting reading. The Catholic Church seems to have received mention whereever there was anything that would attract the attention of a traveler, who was making such a rapid tour of the country.

The first Catholic reference in Vinge is concerning Baltimore. He states that when the city is approached by water, one of the most conspicuous sites is the Roman Catholic Cathedral.

The Archbishop of Maryland is the Metropolitan of the States. The Roman Catholic Cathedral is a handsome building, with a dome like the Pantheon. The inside, which is divided into pews, contains two very good pictures of the French school: a descent from the cross, by Paul Guerin, presented by Louis XVI; and St. Louis burying his dead soldiers before Tunis, by Steabon, presented by

Charles X. . . . St. Mary's College and Baltimore College are justly celebrated throughout the country. (I, p. 122.)

The last mentioned painting by Steabon hangs in one of the class rooms of Caldwell Hall at the Catholic University of America.

It was shortly before the death of Charles Carroll, in 1832, that Vinge wrote of him:

Mr. Carroll is the most extraordinary individual in America. This venerable old gentleman is in his 90th year, is exceedingly cheerful, enjoys perfect health, and is in good possession of his faculties. He is the only survivor of the patriots who signed the Declaration of Independence on July 4th, 1776. He has always adhered to the Federal principles and his valuable estate is one of the few that have descended in direct line from the first possessor. Mr. Carroll is the grandfather of Ladies Wellesley and Caermarthen. (I, p. 134.)

Of Georgetown College and the Visitation Convent the author writes:

The College at Georgetown is a Catholic establishment, its members are Jesuits, and who are increasing their influence, by purchasing lands, etc. Attached to the College is a nunnery of the Sisters of the Visitation, containing about fifty nuns. They tell there of a Hohenlohe Miracle. (I, p. 146.)

The miracle that is referred to here was one performed after union in prayer with Prince Alexander Hohenlohe of Bamburg. The subject of this particular miracle was Sister Beatrix Myers, and was followed by a second in the person of Sister Apollonia Digges. Mrs. Trollope mentions in her book that she saw on the streets of Washington, Mrs. Mattingly, who was the first American to obtain relief from sickness by the intercession of and union of prayer with the Priest-Prince.

Turning then to the West, our traveler does not relate any more Catholic information until he arrived at Mackinac. He visited this town on two occasions. On the first he simply remarked:

Mackinac is the rendezvous of the Northwest American Missionary establishment. It contains six missionaries, of whom four were Presbyterians, one a Catholic and one of the Church of England, and a large establishment for the instruction of one hundred children of whatever persuasion. (II, p. 112.)

A few days later he entered the following account:

Our evening's entertainment was rather of a novel description. A Catholic priest, whom we had previously left at Mackinac, and who was known to be an eloquent man, was going to preach in the chapel, and accordingly many of us went to hear him. He had come to the Island for the sole purpose of holding a religious controversy with some of the Presbyterian clergy. The expected meeting did not take place, and, having been or fancying himself to have been very much wronged, he entered into a long explanation of the whole affair. He read letters and papers, and commented on them in his robes from the altar; he made a long tirade, in which sarcasm and ridicule were successfully prominent, and wound up his speach more suited to the bar than the pulpit, by accusing his adversary of telling a thumper. Whether he was in the right or the wrong is little to the purpose; in common, I believe, with everyone that heard him, I thought the whole proceeding was exceedingly disgraceful. (II, p. 120.)

As the Catholic priests appeared in Ohio and Michigan to care for the Catholic faithful, ministers of the sects started to assail the doctrines of the Church and the morals of her priests and people. Many places witnessed priests who rose in defense of the Church. It is evident that the priest spoken of by Vinge at Mackinac was Father Mazzuchelli. Although there was little or no effect on Vinge, it does not follow that it had no effect and was looked upon as disgraceful by all who heard him. It is recorded that at one of these talks, there were three converts to the Church. It was because of this constant attack on the Church that Bishop Fenwick founded the *Catholic Telegraph.*

CHARLES ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE

Democracy in America
(1831-1832)

Charles Alexis de Tocqueville was born in Verneuil, in France, on July 29th, 1805. He was the grandson of Malesherbes, the defender of Louis XIV. As a judge at Versailles in 1830, he formed a friendship with Gustave de Beaumont, with whom he traveled to America in 1831. Two publications resulted from this trip. The first was a collective work of the two on the penitentiary system of the United States. A few years later De Tocqueville published his celebrated book, *La Democratie en Amerique.* This work won for him admission to the Academie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, in 1838, and to the French Academy in 1841. A copy of *La Democratie* with annotations by Bishop Bruté, the first incumbent of the See of Vincennes, is preserved in the Library of St. Sulpice. De Tocqueville held that

democracy could exist only by seeking a moral support in religion, and that religion could prosper only by accommodating itself to democracy. In regarding the exactions of Catholicism as too severe the author leaves the impression that at the time of his visit he was but half Catholic. The book has long been known as one of the fairest analysis of American institutions. That he clearly foresaw what strides the Church was to make in America is shown by the following quotations which need no comment:

About fifty years ago Ireland began to pour a Catholic population into the United States; on the other hand the Catholics in America made proselytes, and at the present moment more than a million Christians professing the truths of the Church are to be met with in the union. The Catholics are faithful to the observances of their religion; they are fervent and zealous in the support and belief of their doctrines. Nevertheless they constitute the most republican and the most democratic class in America; and although the fact may surprise the observer at first sight, the causes by which it is occasioned may easily be discovered upon reflection.

In think that the Catholic religion has erroneously been looked upon as the natural enemy of Democracy. Amongst the various sects of Christians, Catholicism seems to me, on the contrary, to be one of those which are most favorable to the equality of conditions. In the Catholic Church, the religious community is composed of only two elements, the priest and the people. The priest alone rises above the rank of his flock, and all below him are equal.

On doctrinal points the Catholic Church places all human capacities on a level; it subjects the wise and the ignorant, the man of genius and the vulgar crowd, to the details of the same creed; it imposes the same observances on the rich and the needy, it inflicts the same austerities upon the strong and the weak, it listens to no compromise with mortal man, but reducing all the human race to the same standard, it confounds all the distinctions of society at the foot of the same altar even as they are confounded in the sight of God. If Catholicism predisposes the faithful to obedience, it certainly does not prepare them for inequality; but the contrary may be said of Protestantism, which generally tends to make men independent, more than to render them equal.

Catholicism is like an absolute monarchy; if the sovereign be removed, all the other classes of society are more equal than they are in republics. It has not unfrequently occurred that the Catholic priest has left the service of the altar to mix with the governing powers of society, and to take his place among the civil gradations of men. This religious influence has sometimes been used to secure the interests of that political state of things to which he belonged. At other times Catholics have taken the side of aristocracy from a spirit of religion.

But no sooner is the priesthood entirely separated from the government, as is the case in the United States, than it is found that no class of men are more naturally disposed than the Catholics to transfuse the doctrine of equality of conditions into the political world. If, then, the Catholic citizens of the United States are not forcibly led by the nature of their tenets to adopt democratic and republican principles, at least they are not necessarily opposed to them; and their social position, as well as their limited number, obliges them to adopt these principles and opinions. Most of the Catholics are poor and they have no chance to take a part in the government unless it be open to all citizens. They constitute a minority, and all rights must be respected to insure to them the free exercise of their own privileges. These two causes induce them, unconsciously, to adopt political doctrines which they would perhaps support with less zeal if they were rich and preponderant.

The Catholic clergy of the United States has never attempted to oppose this political tendency, but seeks rather to justify its results. The priests of America have divided the intellectual world into two parts; in the one they place the doctrines of revealed religion, which command their assent; in the other they leave those truths which they believe to have been freely left open to the researches of political inquiry. Thus the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens.

It may be asserted that in the United States no religious doctrine displays the slightest hostility to democratic and republican institutions. The clergy of all the different sects hold the same language, their opinions are consonant to the laws, and the human intellect flows onward in one sole current. (I, p. 304.)

In America religion is a distinct sphere, in which the priest is sovereign, but out of which he takes care never to go. Within its limits he is master of the mind; beyond them he leaves men to themselves, and surrenders to the independence and instability which belongs to their nature and age. I have seen no country in which Christianity is clothed with fewer forms, figures and observances than in the United States; or where it presents more distinct, more simple, or more general notions to the mind. Although the Christians of America are divided into a multitude of sects, they all look upon their religion in the same light. The same applies to the Roman Catholic as well as to the other forms of belief. There are no Roman priests who show less taste for the minute individual observances for extraordinary or peculiar means of salvation, or who cling more to the spirit and less to the letter of the law, than the Roman Catholic priests of the United States. Nowhere is that doctrine of the Church, which prohibits the worship reserved to God alone from being offered to the saints, more clearly inculcated and more generally followed. Yet the Roman Catholics are very submissive and very sincere. (II, p. 28.)

America is the most democratic country in the world and it is at the same time (according to reports worthy of belief) the country in which the Roman Catholic religion makes the most progress. At first

sight this is surprising. Two things must be accurately distinguished: equality inclines men to wish to form their own opinions; but, on the other hand, it imbues them with the taste and idea of unity, simplicity and impartiality in the power which governs society. Men living in democratic ages are therefore very prone to shake off all religious authority; but if they consent to subject themselves to any authority of this kind, they choose at least that it should be single and uniform. Religious powers not radiating from a common center are naturally repugnant to their minds; and they almost as readily conceive that there should be no religion as that there should be several. At the present time, more than at any preceding one, the Roman Catholics are seen to lapse into infidelity, and Protestants to be converted to Roman Catholicism. If the Roman Catholic be considered within the pale of the Church, it would seem to be losing ground; without the pale to be gaining it. Nor is this circumstance difficult of explanation. The men of our days are naturally disposed to believe; but, as soon as they have any religion, they immediately find in themselves a latent propensity which urges them unconsciously towards Catholicism. Many of the practices and doctrines of the Catholic Church astonish them; but they feel a secret admiration for its discipline and its unity attracts them. If Catholicism could at length withdraw itself from the political animosities to which it has given rise, I have hardly any doubt but that the same spirit of the age, which appears to be so opposed to it, would become so favorable as to admit of its great and sudden advancement. One of the most ordinary weaknesses of the human intellect is to seek to reconcile contrary principles, and to purchase peace at the expense of logic. Thus there have never been, and never will be men, who, after having submitted some portion of their religious belief to the principle of authority, will seek to exempt several other parts of their faith from its influence, and to keep their minds floating at random between liberty and obedience. But I am inclined to believe that the number of these believers will be less in democratic than in other ages; and that our posterity will tend more and more to a single division into two parts—some relinquishing Christianity entirely and others returning to the bosom of Rome. (II, p. 30.)

FRANCES M. TROLLOPE

Domestic Manners of the Americans (1832)

Frances Tollope is remembered as the author of the most prejudiced and most warmly discussed of all British books of American travel, and the mother of two novelists, Anthony and Thomas Trollope. Born in 1780 as Frances Milton, she married Thomas Anthony Trollope, a graduate of Oxford. After a number of unfortunate speculations had thrown them into poverty, Mrs. Trollope came to the United States with her two daughters and a son, in 1827. She

was a friend of Fanny Wright, the well known lecturer, and thought that through her she would be able to secure a position for at least the boy. She opened a bazaar at Cincinnati, but this venture proved a total failure. In 1831, Mrs. Trollope returned to England in a frame of mind very unfriendly to the Americans. She had made a few friends in Cincinnati, but on the whole was disappointed. She immediately published her *Domestic Manners of the Americans,* which was eagerly read in England. Soon after this the family fled from England to escape its creditors, and Mrs. Trollope thereafter supported the family by literary work in Belgium. She published other books of travel and many novels, writing steadily until her death in 1863. Her *Domestic Manners* was read by thousands in this country and there was a bitter feeling aroused towards the author and the English people in general. All of her references to the Catholic Church are creditable to the Church.

The first remark about the Church is a tribute to its unity:

> The Catholics alone seem exempt from the fury of division and subdivision that have seized upon every other persuasion. Having the Pope for their common head, regulates, I presume, their movements, and prevents the outrageous display of individual whims which every other sect is permitted. (P. 99.)

This is closely followed by words in praise of Bishop Edward Fenwick of Cincinnati, who was a native of Maryland. She says of the prelate:

> I had the pleasure of being introduced to the Catholic Bishop of Cincinnati and have never known in any country a priest of a character and bearing more truly apostolic. He was an American, but I should never have know it from his pronunciation and manner. He received his education partly in England, and partly in France. His manners were highly polished, his piety active and sincere, and infinitely more mild and tolerant than that of the factious secretarians, who form the great majority of the American priesthood. (P. 100.)

In Baltimore Mrs. Trollope attended services in the Cathedral. She very minutely describes the interior and exterior of that edifice, which she later claims to be the only church in the United States with any pretense to splendor. She also states that:

> The prelate is a Cardinal and bears, moreover, the title of Archbishop of Baltimore. (P. 167.)

James Whitfield was then Bishop of Baltimore, but we know not under what consideration he bore the title of Cardinal. The Chapel of St. Mary's attracted her attention, and a very careful study of the same is entered into her book. In Washington there was a simple remark:

The churches here are not superb, but the Episcopal and Catholic church are attended by elegantly dressed persons. (P. 186.)

Here also a trip was made to Georgetown, where she enters into detail about the Convent of the Visitation:

At Georgetown there is a nunnery where many ladies are educated, and at a little distance from it a College of Jesuits for the education of young men, whereas their advertisements state, "the humanities are taught." We attended Mass at the nunnery, where female voices that performed the chant were very pleasing. The shadowy form of the veiled abbess in her little sacred parlor, seen through a grating and a black curtain, but rendered clearly visible by the light of a gothic window behind her, drew a good deal of our attention. . . . The convent has a considerable enclosure attached to it where I frequently saw, from the heights above it, dark figures in awful black veils, walking solemnly up and down.

The American lady who was the subject of one of Prince Hohenlohe's miracles, was pointed out to us in Washington. All the world declares that her recovery was marvelous. (P. 187.)

The woman who is here referred to as being the subject of a miracle was Mrs. Ann Mattingly, a sister of the mayor of Washington. Shea has a very complete account of the miracle in his *History of the Catholic Church* (Vol. III, p. 85.)

Of the New York churches she says:

They are plain but very neat, and kept in perfect repair within and without, but I saw none with the least pretension to splendor; the Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore is the only one in America which has. (P. 273.)

STEPHEN DAVIS

Notes of a Tour in America (1832-1833)

Stephen Davis was a Protestant minister from the north of Ireland, who was in the United States for the purpose of making a study of the condition of the Protestant Church in this country and to take up collections for the Church in Ireland. What he

records in the way of the informaiton concerning Catholics, was in warning to the Protestants of this country that the Catholic Church was spreading and should be watched.

The first facts that we gather from reading his report is a correction of the almanac figures regarding the Catholic population and a tribute to the zeal of the Catholics:

Roman Catholics are reported in the almanac to be 500,000 but should be 800,000. All denominations are at work, but none more so than the Roman Catholics in very part of the country, and in the valley of of the Mississippi most particularly. Their zeal, indeed in America, and in every part of the British Dominions is worthy of a better cause, and if it were properly considered it would put Protestants everywhere to the blush and would stimulate their exertions to show them their errors. (P. 23.)

A very interesting account of Catholic activities was copied from the Connecticut *Observer:*

It is pleasing to know that some are not unobservant of the progress of Popery there. A writer in the Connecticut *Observer* has the following remarks upon it: "The population attached to the Roman Church in the Valley of the Mississippi is about 500,000, and they boast of an increase of about 40,000 in that region last year. Between 20 and 30 Jesuits recently arrived from Europe, to go to the Mississippi Valley. Twelve more are on their way to enter Michigan. Five Jesuits lately arrived in New York from Antwerp, with the same design. But recently, five nuns from the Convent at Georgetown, took their departure for Mobile, with the intention of establishing in that vicinity schools for female children and youth. There is in the Western States a band or brotherhood of young Catholic priests, who bind themselves by a vow, 'to spend three years in teaching youth,' before they shall attempt to enter the ministry, and the members of it are constantly on the alert in the Western States. Many of their chapels are known to be built in the Mississippi Valley by money sent from Rome. In Pennsylvania, since July, four individuals have been promoted to the priesthood: in Massachusetts, one or two. During the past year, Catholic Church have been completed, or nearly so, in Burlington, Vt.; St. Louis, Miss.; Washington County, Ky.; Clearfield and Newry, Penna., and in the City of New York.

On the 30th of September 100 persons were confirmed in Elizabethtown, Penna.; 25 in Clearfield; 52 in Huntington, and 16 in Newry, Penna. On the 29th of August, 26 in Hartford, Conn., 22 of whom were converts from Protestantism; 40 in Wilmington, Del.; 27 in Burlington, Vt., and 43 in St. Louis. A few years age a few poor Catholic Canadians constituted the entire Catholic population of Burlington, Vermont; now it is said to exceed 10,000 in

number. In a section of Missouri, where six years ago there was but eight Catholics, there are now 550. In the College De Propaganda Fide, at Rome, there are several youth of the American Indian tribes being educated to return as missionaries among their kindred; and the best scholar in that institution is a native (white) of Kentucky, who will probably return as a missionary to his native State. He possesses fine talents. These are but a few of the facts well authenticated." (P. 24.)

The minister found an opportunity to arouse the flame of zeal in the hearts of the young men who were preparing for the Protestant ministry. It was his chief aim to have them care for the "poor Irish," who were mostly led by the errors of Rome. Speaking of his stay at the Hamilton Institute in New York, he states:

I addressed them upon the circumstances of Ireland, and the most likely means, through the Divine blessing, to obtain the favorable attention of Roman Catholics, whose interests many of them are anxious to promote, when their studies are completed, in the Valley of the Mississippi. (P. 75.)

Without details, he remarks that there is a Roman Catholic College and nunnery at Georgetown (P. 95); and goes on with very minute details about the inscriptions on the walls of the Cathedral at Baltimore. (P. 109.) Finally he quotes verbatim from the *Eclectic Review,* a long extract about Popery (P. 141), and there is no doubt that the visitor was impressed and probably upset by the strength which the Church displayed at the time of his visit.

E. S. ABDY

Journal of a Residence and Tour in the United States (1833-1834)

Edward S. Abdy was born in 1791, at Albyns, Essex. He was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. His rather verbose work was read extensively at the time of its appearance, though its interest was quite temporary. He despaired of Slavery because those with whom he spoke on this subject would not admit that it was an evil. He claimed that the bragging of Americans was a necessary part of our Democracy. Previous to his visit to America, he was known for an essay, *The Water Cure,* of which he was not however the author, but only the translator from the German. He mentions of the Church a few rather lengthy accounts:

All the remarks of Abdy in regard to the Church are concerned with the spread of the faith and the prejudice that was then in evidence against the Church. He mentions that at Norwick, Virginia, where the stage stopped for a while, he entered into conversation with a man who had recently "adjured Calvin for the Pope," whose conversion was brought about entirely by what he considered a misrepresentation of the primitive Church. This convert, with the aid of a priest, had succeeded in cooling the heat of hostility against the Church and:

> Though there were only two Catholic families among them, they contrived to raise $555 for a church. From one store alone they got $60; one man having given $25 and another $10. They all declared that they had been completely deceived and now were convinced that, the thunders of the Vatican had ceased, and that they would be neither boiled alive, nor condemned, when dead to eternal perdition.
>
> That the number of Roman Catholics is increasing in the United States can not be disputed, whether the cause is to be found in conversions or from emigration from Europe. The papal Church has probably gained by the rancorous abuse and animosity with which its doctrines, real or imputed, are assailed by almost all other sects, who agree in nothing but in the hatred of a common foe. (III, p. 93.)

It is about the same trend of affairs that he mentions in New England:

> As we came out of Boston, we passed the ruins of a Catholic Convent, which had not long before been destroyed by a mob, excited by a spirit of religious intolerance against an innocent community of helpless women and children. They had been told that a young person was forcibly confined there, and, having been prepared for any kind of violence by some inflammatory sermons that had just been preached from an orthodox pulpit, these advocates for summary conviction and speedy punishment, assembled in full force and fury at the doors of the hated building and set fire to it. . . . (III, p. 258.)

An account of this outrage follows. Mention is made of the animosity towards Catholics in the different parts of the country, with excerpts from a report of the secretary of the Hartford Education Society in 1833, and from a talk of Doctor Scudder. Another quotation from a book printed in Boston at that time can almost be supposed to be the real cause which led to the Charlestown fire:

It is a subject that demands the most serious consideration of the judicial department of our nation, whether they should allow Roman Catholic priests to establish nunneries where the "Black Veil" is taken. Such in fact are prisons in which females are kept locked up forever. It is true that they enter them voluntarily at first, but the question is, do they voluntarily remain there? . . . the bare mention of a wish to leave might, in many instances, be followed with a deadly poisonous draught. (III, p. 259.)

Abdy concludes this subject by saying that the Catholics are not far behind their opponents in this manner of acting:

If we may judge from certain resolutions they lately passed at New Orleans, against a Presbyterian minister, for slandering them in an address he had delivered in Connecticut . . . had it not been for the Catholic Bishop, the Irish at Boston and the neighborhood would have retaliated on the Protestant churches and the College at Cambridge, for the insult thus offered to their religion. It is said they had provided arms for themselves. The dislike which prevails almost universally against the Irish does not originate entirely in religious differences. One of the most fruitful sources of the jealousy is from the working classes, who claim that these intruders take the bread out of their mouths, by overstocking the labor market. (III, p. 260.)

CHARLES A. MURRAY

Travels in North America (1834-1836)

The Honorable Charles Augustus Murray was for a time Master of the Household to Queen Victoria. By birth he was a grandson of Lord Murray, Bishop of St. David's. His traveling in America included a year's residence among the Pawnee Indians of Missouri, about whom he is mostly concerned in his volumes. The references to the Catholic Church are few and of no great consequence, his chief remarks being, like those of others of this period, confined to the spread of the faith and the zeal of the Catholic priests.

At the time of Murray's visit to the West, the Cathedral at St. Louis was building and there was a great deal of talk about it. Murray states that all who knew he was to stop at St. Louis advised him to inspect the Cathedral, which was one of the attractions in that part of the country. The advice was taken and he visited the rising church on two occasions, but did not arrive at the same conclusions as the others. He claimed that he could see nothing there

to call for all the praise that had been given to it. In the second volume there is but one reference to the Church. It is a general remark:

The Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics (exclusive of the colored population) are about equal in number, but the latter are increasing more rapidly, especially in the Western States. Certainly there are two qualities beyond any other, that distinguish the Roman Catholic religion, and those are, first, the plastic readiness with which it adapts itself to the circumstances, habits and political opinions of mankind, so that although it has been for centuries in Europe, the most powerful engine in the hands of despotism, its tendency seems in the United States to gather beneath its banner the most democratic republicans. The second quality referred to above, is no less remarkable, namely, the zeal and enterprise with which it inspires its priests to toil, travel and endure every kind of hardship in spreading its doctrine and gaining converts. In this labor, especially among the negroes and the Indians, they put to shame the zeal and exertions of all other Christian sects, nor do they labor without effect. During my stay in Missouri I observed that the Romanish faith gained ground with a rapidity that outstripped all competition. (II, p. 308.)

HARRIET MARTINEAU

Retrospect of Western Travel; Society in America (1834-1836)

Harriet Martineau, one of the most versatile and energetic of all women publicists, was born in 1802 in Norwich, England, the daughter of a cloth manufacturer. After a sickly childhood, she was thrown midway in her twenties upon her own resources. She was unable to enter the teaching profession, owing to her marked deafness. She at once entered upon the career of authorship that lasted until her death in 1876. Though frail of body and frequently ill, she never seemed tired. After a day of work with the needle, by which means she first made sure of her living, she would write until two or three in the morning. Her first stories were religious in character and received a wide circulation. Her first real success came after reading Adam Smith and other economists, and executed the idea of writing a series of tales to illustrate the principles of political economy to the masses. The demand for these tales ran into the thousands. This work being completed, she visited America, where she was already well known as an author, and was everywhere welcomed. On her return to England she published two works of three volumes each, *Society in America* and *Retrospect of*

Western Travel. The former is very heavy, being a systematic scrutiny of the American application of the principles laid down in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence. The second records in an interesting fashion, her impressions and descriptions and incidents of her travel in America. As source material for Catholic Church history they contain little. In her *Society in America,* we read:

> The hatred to Catholics also approaches too nearly in its irreligious character to the oppression of the negro. It is pleaded by some who must mourn the persecution the Catholics are undergoing at present in the United States, that there is a very prevalent ignorance on the subject of the Catholic religion, and that dreadful slanders are being circulated by a few wicked, who deceive a great many weak persons. This is just the case; but there is that in the true Christian religion which should intercept the hatred, whatever may be the ignorance . . . the question, "Where is thy faith?" might reasonably be put to the Presbyterian clergyman who preached three long denunciations against the Catholics in Boston, the Sunday before the burning of the Charlestown Convent; and also to parents, who put into their children's hands, as religious books, the foul libels against the Catholics which are circulated throughout the country. . . . I was seriously told by several persons in the South and West, that the Catholics in America are employed by the Pope, in league with the Emperor of Austria and the Irish, to exploit the Union. The vast and rapid spread of the Catholic faith in the United States has excited observation and grew with this rumor . . . it is found so impossible to supply the demand for priests, that the term of education has been shortened two years. The Catholic Church is democratic in its policies and is modified by the spirit of the time in America; and its professors are not a set of men who can be priest ridden to any fatal extent. (II, p. 234.)

There follows a plea for the toleration of Catholics on the ground that if the faith is false it will decay, or at least remain harmless; and because what is more to the point, the principles of this country require that a man be left free as regards his religious belief and practices. This plea for tolerance is not common in the books of travelers. Miss Martineau's spirit of fair play, which runs through all her works, is found here in favor of the Catholics, although she herself was of the Protestant persuasion.

In her volumes, *Retrospect of Western Travel,* the first mention is brief and not of value:

> My first introduction was to the Catholic Bishop. (II, p. 50.)

The Bishop here mentioned is Bishop Fenwick of Cincinnati. The only other mention of things Catholic is a return to what was touched upon in her first work. She says that the city of Cincinnati is threatened by the spirit at work among the people. In part, it reads:

A third direction in which this illiberality shows itself is toward the Catholics. The Catholic religion spreads rapidly in many and most of the recently settled parts of the United States, and its increase produces an almost insane dread among some Protestants, who fail to see that no evils that the Catholic religion can produce in the present state of society can be so effective and dangerous as the bigotry by which it is proposed to put it down. The removal to Cincinnati of Doctor Beecher, an ostentatious and virulent foe of the Catholics, has much quickened the spirit of alarm in that region. . . . It is hoped that all parties will remember that Doctor Beecher preached, in Boston, three vituperative sermons against the Catholics the Sunday before the burning of the Charlestown Convent by a Boston mob. Circumstances have also shown them by this time, how any kind of faith grows under persecution, and above all, it may be hoped that the richer classes of citizens will become more aware than they have yet proved themselves to be of their republican (to say nothing of their human) obligation to refrain from encroaching, in the smallest particulars, on their brethrens' rights of opinion and liberty of conscience. (II, p. 55.)

FRANCIS J. GRUND

The Americans in their Moral, Social and Political Relations
(1837)

Francis J. Grund was a native of Germany and for years a resident of the United States. Beyond this there is little known of his life. His book was warmly received in America, and the reviews of the time of its publication are favorable to it. He is also the author or at least the editor of another work, *Aristocracy in America.* Grund claimed that he did not write the book, and that it was the work of a German nobleman, but the general opinion is that Grund was not only the editor, but the author of this work.

The first reference of Grund is misleading. Speaking of the Roman Catholic Seminaries in this country he says:

There are five Roman Catholic seminaries, at Baltimore, Emmitsburg, Bardstown, Charlestown and Perry County. (I, p. 243.)

These are only the first five seminaries that were founded. They were, St. Mary's at Baltimore, which was founded in 1791; Mt. St.

Mary's at Emmitsburg, founded in 1808; St. Thomas Seminary, founded at Bardstown by Bishop Flaget in 1811 and discontinued in 1869; that at Charlestown opened by Bishop England in 1882; and that at Missouri opened by Bishop Du Bourg in 1818. In the year that Grund wrote there were four other seminaries in this country. In 1829 there was one established in Boston and another in Cincinnati, and in 1832 the Philadelphia and the New York seminaries were opened. The year previous to this account of Grund, the New York seminary had been moved from Nyack to the Thousand Islands location, where it remained for a short time.

Another mention of the faith is in a chart in which the different religions are recorded. The Catholics are listed as having:

340 clergymen, 383 churches and no record of the number of communicants.

A. F. DE BACOURT

Souvenirs D'un Diplomate: Letters Intimes sur L'Amerique (1837-1842)

Bacourt was born in France in 1801 and received an excellent elementary training and then entered the diplomatic service about the age of twenty-one. He held a number of important posts before resigning under M. de Lamartine, while at Turin. He then published the letters of Mirabeau. He was a personal friend and secretary of Talleyrand and was with this personage during his last moments. He wrote his *Memoirs of Talleyrand,* which he forbid to be published before 1888. He returned to the diplomatic service of France and was sent to the United States as minister from 1837 to 1842. During the time he was in this country he traveled a great deal, and with his foresight predicted a number of events, including the struggle between the North and South. The book, as is indicated in the title, is a series of his letters to France during his residence in this country.

The most detailed as well as the first Catholic data that we find in these letters, is that which was written from Baltimore during his first days in America. An interesting picture of Archbishop Eccleston can be derived from these pages. There is also much contained in the conversation between these two Catholics:

I have just returned from a visit to the Archbishop, who received me very well. He is a handsome man, of forty years of age

at most, who has the best manners I have yet seen in America. An old sulpician, he passed ten years ago, two years at Issy, near Paris; he speaks French very well, and inquired with much interest about the life of M. de Tallyrand,, which until now he appears to have credited. But he was delighted with what I told him of it, and begged me to repeat it to the director of the seminary, whom I am to visit this evening, and who it seems attaches a great importance to this affair. We also spoke of Msgr. Forbin-Janson, who has been in the United States for the last eight months. I profited by this occasion to beg the Archbishop to prevail upon Mr. de Janson to speak more moderately about France and its present government, for I have heard that in New York and New Orleans, he had expressed himself in the pulpit in the most violent manner against us, accusing us of being Atheists. The Archbishop took what I said in good part, and replied, "M. de Janson is a man of intelligence, but too ardent; he is wrong in introducing politics into his sermons. I always avoid it, even in this country, where priests have a right to say what they please. Although born in America and as good a republican as anyone, I do not vote, and never try to influence my parishioners as to how they shall vote. It would only be in the case of the liberty of my religion being threatened that I should assert my right as an American citizen. I have already requested M. de Janson to be more moderate, but it is not to be wondered at that he should sometimes wander from his subject, for he preaches too much. Just imagine, he has preached two hundred times in four months. He is very wrong in attacking the King of France. This sovereign has shown himself favorable to religion, and since he commenced his reign has made none but an excellent choice of Bishops, etc."

The Archbishop spoke also of the progress of Catholicism in America, and even in the State of Massachusetts, where thirty years ago there were not ten Catholic families, now there are forty Catholic Churches and a Bishop at Boston, the most Puritanical city in the United States. There are numerous conversions everywhere, and almost all Irish and German emigrants are Catholic. This progress has been apparent in New England also where the Protestants are so ardently zealous. There are in the United States fourteen Bishops, and they talk of creating two new Sees; the Catholic population will soon reach a million. The increased number of Bishops and the building of churches are facts more remarkable, because the revenues of the clergy and the Church are covered by subscriptions and the rent of seats in the church.

The Archbishop took me into his Cathedral, the interior of which is in as bad taste as the exterior, but he is very proud of this monument, which has cost the Catholics a great deal of money. (P. 47.)

Mention of Msgr. Forbin de Janson, the Bishop of Nancy and Toul, will be made again in the letters of the diplomat, telling

of the labors of that prelate, who was virtually an exile from France.

The following day found the French minister at the Seminary and College of St. Mary, concerning which place he wrote rather lengthy accounts:

Before leaving Baltimore I went with the Count Menou to visit the Seminary of St. Sulpice, which is composed of ten priests and five of these are French, and thirteen pupils. The college, which adjoins it, is under the direction of the same priests and has three hundred pupils, one half of whom are Protestants. The Abbe Chauch, who is the head of the College, was born at Baltimore. He is a distinguished man in his conversation and manners. The Seminary was founded in 1791, by five French Sulpicians, who came to the United States to escape the persecution; they have had to contend with a thousand difficulties, which they have overcome with great courage, and later were able to found the College which is more prosperous than the Seminary, for which they could only get recruits from the foreigners. Americans had little taste for a life of meditation, their feverish activity ill fits them for a uniform and peaceful life.

The principal of the Seminary is the Abbe Delnot. Born in Vivarais, he came here twenty-five year ago. Although he is less distinguished than the Abbe Chauch, I think he is, notwithstanding his common appearance, an able man. He was very much interested in the Christian death of M. de Tallyrand. He has already been informed of what I had said to Msgr. Eccleston on the subject in the morning; it delighted him. He spoke with much feeling of the St. Sulpice in Paris, of the Abbe Garnier, and of M. Emmery, etc. These good priests showed me every detail of their seminary, the college and their little Gothic Chapel, which is far better than the Cathedral. They related to me a very singular fact concerning the establishment of Catholic Bishoprics in the United States. The promoter of the first seat was Jefferson, who was said to be an unbeliever in any religion. Observing the tendency of the American Catholics to follow the English Catholic Church, even after their separation, he thought this might produce trouble, and whilst minister at Paris, having induced the American government to adopt his views, he was authorized to obtain the creating of a Bishopric at Baltimore, which thus became the head of the Church in the United States and will soon have fifteen assistant Bishops.

M. de Menou says that the Bishop was much pleased with my visit. He took it for granted that I had acted in my official capacity and from instructions given by the King. I begged M. de Menou to assure him, that I had acted entirely from personal feeling. (P. 54.)

The reference to Jefferson and the erection of the See of Baltimore is one that is made even today. It was not our Paris minister

that brought this about. The fact is that the Papal nuncio at Paris was ordered by the Holy See to consult Jefferson regarding John Carroll, in order that he would have a better idea of the sentiments of Americans in this regard. Jefferson then wrote to this country saying that he had been consulted, though he never claimed for himself that he had been instrumental in the erection of the first American See. That this mistaken notion of affairs has come down to us is not surprising, when we read here that the Sulpicians at St. Mary's, those who trained the priests of America, firmly believed this to be true.

From Washington a number of letters were written. They have to do with the business of the Government chiefly, and a few remarks on the social life of the Capital, but here and there we catch a mention of the pastor and the Church. The first letter was written a few days after he arrived in the city.

The little Catholic Church of which I am a parishioner is neat and well kept. The Mass that I attended, although a low Mass, lasted more than an hour on account of a short sermon preached and of a great number of communicants, the half of whom at least were negroes and negresses. The French legation has a pew, for which it pays yearly. Eight days after my arrival, the Cure sent to M. Pageot the rent due, and a message by the beadle to say that the pew would be of no use to me as I was a Protestant; they read that in the newspaper.

The Church mentioned here is St. Patrick's. Mention is made of it in another letter:

I paid a visit to my curé yesterday. He is an American by birth, but brought up in Liege. He returned to America during the French Revolution. He came to Washington, which was being built, and thinking that it would become a city of importance, bought a large tract of land. During the last thirty-five years, by the aid of subscriptions from Catholics, he has built on this land a pretty church, a presbytery, a small hospital where the Sisters of Charity take care of the sick, and a school where fifty poor children are educated gratuitously. The Abbe Matteus seems to me to be an honest man, distinguished only for his charity, perhaps the highest of all distinctions. He told me that there are now in Washington three churches and more than six thousand Catholics; that is about one-third of the whole population. (P. 81.)

Father Matteus is no other than the Very Rev. William Matthews, who had been Vicar General Apostolic of the Diocese of Philadelphia during the Hogan trouble. Another remark that is

worth quoting here marks a feeling that was in the hearts of many at that time:

M. Matthews, the Catholic Cure, tells me that President Tyler's sister, who is a Catholic, lives here in Washington. The President has so much respect for the Catholics, that it is reported he will join their religion. I do not believe it. (P. 380.)

Of the Western States there is but one mention:

Mr. Benton says that in all the new States of the West there is a large number of Protestants who have been converted to the Catholic Church on account of the doubts caused by the infinite number of Protestant sects. Young Protestants are educated in Catholic schools, their parents confiding them with a feeling of perfect security to the integrity and enlightenment of the Catholic clergy of America. (P. 73.)

The following was written from Boston, while there with a party of Royal French visitors:

There are fifty-two churches in the city and suburbs, of which four are Catholic. Nearby is a convent of Benedictines, which was broken into, pillaged and burnt by the Bostonians three years ago, from pure curiosity to see what was going on there. In consequence of this the Bishop of Boston sent the nuns to their principal house in Canada. Afterwards he claimed damage from the City of Boston and the Legislature of Massachusetts. On their refusal he declared that he would leave the ruins just as they were. As the ground belongs to the Catholic Church, he had a right to do as he pleased, and this determination annoys the Protestants very much, because all the strangers view the ruins and, with astonishment, ask the cause. (P. 152.)

The convent mentioned here is that of the Ursulines which was burned in 1834. It is here mistaken for a Benedictine institution because it was situated on Mt. St. Benedict, in Boston. Neither the city nor the State ever paid the claims that were filed after this disaster.

The following was written after a service in the Cathedral at Baltimore, on September 30, 1840:

The high Mass, with the music of Madame d'Houterire and company lasted nearly four hours, thanks to a Jesuit who delivered a sermon for an hour and a half in honor of St. Ignatius Loyola. (P. 178.)

After a short history of the Acadians, Bacourt tells an interesting account of those who were left on the banks of the St. Jean:

Here is a curious fact attached to the lamentable history. Some of these people escaped on the shores of the river St. Jean, and no more was heard of them until fifty years after. . . . in 1803 some English and American engineers went to the river St. Jean to seek traces of the boundaries . . . imagine the astonishment to find a population of 1,000 or 1,200 Frenchmen, whose existence was unknown to the world. They retained their customs and religion, and during half a century, the Catholic clergy had sent them priests, and had kept the secret of their retreat so well, that no one in England or the United States knew or suspected their existence. (P. 186.)

Of Bishop de Forbin-Janson, of whom we made mention before, Bacourt wrote in 1841:

I have just heard that Msgr. de Forbin-Janson, the former Bishop of Nancy, and wandering preacher in the United States, is about to build a French church and French hospital. I sent this turbulent Bishop my modest personal offering of 500 francs, and will write to Paris asking the aid of the Government. Subscriptions from the King and Queen would make a good impression here, and I shall recommend it. (P. 270.)

The church was actually erected at this time. The cornerstone was laid on October 11, 1841, and the Church called by the name of St. Vincent de Paul. It was dedicated in the summer of 1842. The total cost of the edifice was about $38,000. That all did not run smoothly during the time of building can be gathered from another mention of the exiled Bishop:

Msgr. Forbin-Janson has left here after having quarrelled with everybody; his church is hardly above ground; let anybody finish it who wants to. (P. 316.)

It does not seem that the Bishop of Nancy lost interest in the Church when he left the country, for it was he who, a few years later, induced the priests of the Society of Mary to take the church under their care.

Another account of the church in New York is in regard to the school question:

An unfortunate event has taken place here. The Catholic Bishop of New York is old, infirm and childish; they have given him a coadjutor, Mr. Hughes, made on this account Bishop in partibus Barianopolis. Mr. Hughes, who is an Irishman by birth, is very hotheaded and full of imprudent zeal, which has caused him to commit a fault

very injurious to the interests of Catholicism in this country. Every year the Legislature of New York votes the funds to be distributed amongst the primary schools, all directed by Protestants. The Catholics have protested against this measure, and demand a part of these funds for schools founded by them. This protest has been taken into consideration and sustained by many influential persons who recognize that as Catholics pay their share of the taxes, by the aid of which the schools are kept up, it is only just that they should have their share in the distribution. Bishop Hughes has insisted in the religious assemblies that justice should be done. If he had kept to this, nothing could have been better, and he would have before long obtained what he asked, but this is what he took into his head to do: The general election for one-third of the legislature being close at hand, he called a meeting, more political than religious, where he gave an incendiary discourse, in which he confided himself, not to generalities, but designated twelve candidates favorable to the distribution of the funds to Catholics. He so inflamed his audience, most of whom were poor Irish workmen, that in the excitement they behaved in a manner very much to be regretted. The next day the newspapers threw fire and flames against the Bishop, whom they accused of stirring up civil war. The twelve candidates designated by this prelate protested, and if they were elected it is probable they would not vote but against the Catholics; besides these senseless agitations of the clergy do a great deal of harm. (P. 343.)

In April, 1842, Bacourt wrote in this regard:

There has been a riot in New York, on the occasion of the Municipal elections. In this riot they sacked Bishop Hughes' house, to punish him for having taken such an active part in political questions; but he is only coadjutor, and an incumbent, Mgr. Dubois, who is 83 years old, was not at all respected by the mob, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities. The authorities arrived two hours after the pillage. (P. 387.)

JAMES S. BUCKINGHAM

America: Historical, Statistic and Descriptive. Eastern and Western States of America. Slave States of America

(1838-1842)

James Silk Buckingham has been regarded as one of the most intelligent, energetic and liberal of British visitors to America before the Civil War. His previous life fitted him to fulfill this appreciation that has been given to him. He was born at Flushing, in 1786, and at an early age was sent to a naval academy at Falmouth. At the age of nine he was appointed to a ship and sailed the seas until

he witnessed a sailor expire after having been "flogged around the fleet" for desertion. Marrying at nineteen, he was left penniless by the speculations of a trustee of the estate he had inherited, and he commenced a remarkably varied and active career. He entered the field of journalism, first in England and then in India. From 1832 to 1837 he sat as a member of Parliament. He then traveled in America, lecturing on temperance and other reforms which he had espoused. He was a voluminous writer and his travels in Syria, Palestine and the Continent all led to the publication of useful books. On his American tour he wrote three books. The first to appear was his, *America: Historical, Statistic and Descriptive,* which appeared in three volumes in 1841. A year later he published, *Eastern and Western States of America,* also in three volumes; and before the end of the same year his *Slave States of America,* a two-volume work, was on the market. All eight volumes are replete with Catholic data of that period.

In his *America: Historical, Statistic and Descriptive,* there are a number of passing references which we will just mention: In New York State there were twenty-five Roman Catholic congregations. The City of Washington had three Churches and a Catholic College of Theology. Volume I, pages 386 to 397 contain a short history of Maryland. On page 408 of the same volume there is a lengthy description of the Cathedral at Baltimore. Of Philadelphia he states that the Catholic churches are on the increase and mentions St. John's Church. He also remarks that Girard, the founder of the College of that name, is a nominal Catholic. In the cities of Rochester and Albany there are two churches, in the State of New Hampshire and Providence, R. I., there was one.

In more detailed manner he mentions the construction of the church at Buffalo, New York:

> The new Catholic Church is built outside and over the old one, which is left standing in the middle of the new edifice, so that the congregation may continue their worship, until the exterior church is finished. (III, p. 39.)

Of Baltimore and the charitable works there carried on he says:

> The superintendence of the Hospital is under the Catholics of Baltimore; twelve nuns, called Sisters of Charity, are always in the house and subject to the superintending Sister of their own order.
>
> The Baltimore Infirmary is another institution attached to the Medical Hospital college; this also is superintended in all its domestic arrangements by the Catholic Sisters of Charity.

A Catholic orphan asylum, for the education and support of the Catholic orphans, is under the management of the Sisters of Charity. (I, p. 417.)

Of the state of the Church in general in that city he writes:

The Roman Catholics far outstrip any other sect, in numbers and zeal. Besides their large and imposing Cathedral, by far the most prominent of all public buildings in the city, they have churches and chapels scattered over all parts of the town, and others rising up in every direction. The last new one that we saw just opened, has inscribed in large letters on the outside, "The Church of Mount Carmel and the Sacred Heart." The Catholic Archbishop and all the subordinate priesthood, are learned, pious, and clever men; the Sisters of Charity have among their number many intelligent and devoted women, and these, with the seminary for the education of Catholic youth, secure not merely the permanence of the present supremacy of Catholic numbers and Catholic influence, but its still further steady and progressive increase. (I, p. 439.)

Boston received a good deal of the traveler's attention. He states that Mass was first said in the city in 1788. (III, p. 299.) This is a reference to Father Poterie, who arrived in Boston from Angers and received faculties from Carroll on December, 24, 1788. Of the condition of the Church there at the time of his visit, it is observed that:

The Catholic population is very numerous, there being no less than 10,000 members of the Church, or one-eighth of the whole population of Boston (P. 344), and they are increasing in number. (P. 348.)

The history of the Ursulines in Boston is related in a few words:

A convent of Ursuline nuns also exists in Boston. This was originally of four nuns, who were invited here by Bishop Cheverus in 1820, and maintained by a provision made for them in the will of a Catholic gentleman named Thayer. They were employed for the first six years in the instruction of females; and having at that time increased in numbers, they removed to Charlestown, one of the suburbs of Boston, and there established the Ursuline community on Mount St. Benedict. This was in 1826, and they continued there until 1834, when the convent was destroyed by an intolerant mob of incendiaries and the nuns and inmates were obliged to save themselves by flight. The Convent has never been rebuilt at Charlestown, but the nuns now inhabit a large house near Pearl Street in Boston, and still continue the occupation of teaching female children. By this practice there is no doubt that they make many converts to their faith, and even add to their own number as nuns. (III, p. 348.)

In his three volumes, *Eastern and Western States*, Buckingham remarks in passing that there is one Catholic Church in each of the following cities:

Portland, Maine; Salem, Mass.; Worcester, Mass.; New Haven, Conn.; Wheeling, Va.; Louisville, Ky.; in Pittsburg there are two Churches; in Bardstown a Catholic College, and a total of six congregations in Maine.

The following recorded conversation is interesting and gives one an idea of the bitterness that was in the hearts of the missionaries in Maine:

In conversing with a clergyman of Boston, Bomaseen, an Indian captured in Maine, said that his people had been taught by the Jesuits to believe that the Virgin Mary was a French lady, and that her son, the Blessed Jesus Christ, had been murdered by the English; but that He had risen from the dead and gone to Heaven; and that all who wished to gain his favor there must avenge His death by making war upon the English. To this the English divine is said to have replied, taking a tankard of wine in his hand, "Jesus Christ gives us a good religion, like the good wine in this cup; God's book is the Bible, which holds this good drink; Englishmen give it to them pure, that is, we present the Holy Book to you in your own language; French priests hear you confess your sins and take beaver for it; Englishmen never sell pardons, they are free, and come from God only. (I, p. 139.)

The next reference to Catholics is quite different. It is indicative of the change that had come and the greater spirit of tolerance and goodwill, at least on the part of the people:

The Roman Catholics of the City, though not much given to Revivals, any more than are the Episcopalians, who rarely join them, are not nevertheless inactive, but in another way. It was thought desirable to build a Catholic Church at Fairmount, near the water works of Philadelphia, where a number of visitors are usually gathered on Sundays, for the pleasure of the excursion. But it was difficult to raise the funds for this purpose by the ordinary process of subscriptions; a fair was got up, to be held at the Masonic Hall, in Chestnut Street, just opposite the Morris House, where we resided. In any other country than this, none but the persons of Catholic belief and persuasion would have sent articles to this fair or bazaar for sale, or stood at stalls for the purpose of selling them to raise money for such a purpose. But here Protestants vied with Catholics in making and preparing novelties, and sending their contributions to the funds. The sum raised was considerable and said to amount upwards of $5,000. This cooperation of Protestants with Catholics

to erect a religious edifice for the latter, would seem more extraordinary and inexplicable from the fact, that in no part of the Christian world is there more alarm expressed at the progress of Romanism as it is called than here. Sermons are preached against it, tracts are extensively circulated to counteract it, and all the horror and alarm which the High and Low Church Protestants of England and Ireland profess to feel at the growth of Romanism in Britain, is at least as warmly expressed here. (I. p. 566.)

Arriving in Baltimore at the time of the Breckenridge Case and witnessing the whole affair, he wrote:

The great topic of excitement during our stay in Baltimore was, however, a public controversy between the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics, which had heretofore been carried on in the pulpit, in magazines and in public meetings, but had now found a new arena in the Criminal Court of Law. The Rev. Robert Breckenridge, a clergyman of Kentucky, but long resident here, was the champion of the Presbyterian side; and his disposition and temperament fitted him for a controversialist of the most unbending, fiery, zealous and ardent kind. II, p. 102.)

Buckingham goes on to describe the case, which was one of libel filed by James L. Macguire. The court sat for eight days, at the end of which the jury could not agree, ten being for the conviction of Breckenridge and two against it. Buckingham states that this was a disappointment to all, both Catholics and Protestants hoping for a decision that would be favorable to them.

Of Ohio the traveler relates:

The Roman Catholics are thought to be increasing rapidly, their present number being about 30,000. (II, p. 343.)

Of Cincinnati there is much recorded:

The largest and most prominent Church is the Catholic Cathedral, with its florid facade, its small towers and turrets, and its lofty central spire, surmounted by a cross. (II, p. 391.)

The Catholics, with a population of 12,000, are not only the most numerous, but said to be the most active, most zealous and most rapidly increasing, their unity giving them great advantages in this respect.

Of the schools, the Athenaeum, the most efficient of all, is under the direction of the Roman Catholics, with a more splendid edifice than either of the Protestant establishments, with abler teachers, more zealous proselytizers, and a larger number of students and pupils than any other single institution. (P. 393.)

The Athenaeum, a Roman Catholic college in this city, is educating about 2,000 children under the Society of Jesus. (II, p. 342.)

Passing on to St. Louis this quick observer found even more to relate in favor of Catholic activity:

There are six Catholic Churches, the principal one being the Cathedral, a large, fine building, nearly in the center of the city, capable of accommodating 3,000 worshippers without inconvenience. The other places of Catholic worship are the Jesuits' College, the nunnery, the hospital, the asylum and various other chapels under the direction of the Catholic clergy. The number of Catholic worshippers here amount to 12,000, or more than half of the Church going population of the city, and these are continually augmented by the fresh arrivals of German and Irish emigrants belonging to the Catholic Church, no less than 340 Germans having arrived in one boat from New Orleans during our stay in St. Louis. To meet the increasing wants of such a population, two splendid Catholic Churches are now building, one attached to the Jesuit College, and the other at the south extremity of the town. To raise funds for these, the Catholic Bishop, Rosate, has gone to Rome, from whence the most liberal aid is readily secured for the erection of churches and the propagation of Catholic Faith in distant lands. Nearly all the best educational and benevolent establishments of St. Louis are in the hands of the Catholics; and they manage them with such skill and attention, that this alone entitles them to the highest praise, and gives them great influence in society.

The Jesuits' College is called the University of St. Louis, the president and professors, of which there are ten, are all members of the Society of Jesus, and under these are eight masters or tutors. They are all Catholics and the greatest number are Belgians, though among them are also Italians, Spanish and Irish. Nothing seems to be wanting that is essential to such an institution. The University is incorporated by Charter or Act of Congress, passed in 1832, entitling them to confer degrees.

The Convent of the Sacred Heart is a Roman Catholic establishment for the education of females. The ladies of the Sisterhood whom we saw were altogether the most agreeable ladies I have yet seen as nuns.

Attached to this convent is an orphan asylum for girls, and in another part of tht city is an orphan asylum for boys, both under the direction of those indefatigable messengers of peace and mercy, the Sisters of Charity. There is also a General Hospital, with a marine department for boatmen, and a lunatic asylum, all under the direction of the Sisters of Charity. (III, p. 90.)

A little further on, he remarks concerning the other Catholic centers of the State of Missouri:

Of the religious bodies the Roman Catholics are thought to have the predominance in numbers. They have two colleges, one in the vicinity of St. Louis, and the other south of Bois Brule. There are

several convents in the State, at which females are educated; and the Catholic Clergy, with the Bishop of St. Louis at their head, are very numerous, intelligent and zealous in their calling. (III, p. 106.)

Speaking of the mounds along the Mississippi, he says:

The most prominent of all these mounds is one, now called the Trappist Mound, from the fact that a monastery of the order of La Trappe was established here in the early days of the French settlements, and portions of the buildings and trees by which it was surrounded still remain. (III, p. 140.)

Buckingham then touches upon the life of Charles Carroll who had recently died. He mentions that at the signing of the Declaration the Catholic had put his entire fortune behind the cause by signing, "Charles Carroll of Carrollton." The funeral of the patriot is referred to, and the fact that three of his daughters had married into the English peerage. He concludes with the remark:

So that Patriotism, virtue, wealth, and honors are all happily blended with the venerable name of Carroll of Carrollton. (III, p. 151.)

The city of Chicago offered a rather poor Catholic showing at the time of Buckingham's visit. It was another case of rebellion which fortunately ended well. After saying that there are two Catholic Churches there, he continues:

Considerable excitement was occasioned during our stay here, by an expected riot among the Irish Catholics, on behalf of a priest who was a favorite among them. It appears that this reverend father had in some manner caused the Church of which he was pastor, and certain lands, house and furniture attached to it to be made by legal instrument, his own individual and exclusive property; and demeaning himself thus in secure and immovable possession, he defied all his ecclesiastical superiors. He had been for some long time intemperate, and it was alleged that he had also committed extensive frauds. This is certain, that the Catholic Bishop of the Diocese, and the Vicar General from St. Louis had come on to Chicago from the South, for the purpose of forcing the priest to surrender the property which he unlawfully held, and then publicly to excommunicate him. The expectation of this ceremony drew crowds of Protestants together on the Sunday morning it was appointed to take place; and the sympathy felt by the Irish laborers on the canal, here pretty numerous for one of their own priests, who freely drank whiskey with them, was such, that they had declared that they would clear the church, if any attempt was made to excommunicate their favorite. The Bishop and the Vicar General hearing this went among the men, and addressed them on the subject, reminding them of their allegiance

to the Church, and their duty of obedience to its decrees; told them that they knew no distinction of nation or habit among Catholics, but that the only distinction that must be maintained, was between worthy and unworthy, the faithful and the unfaithful sons of the Church, and concluded by warning them that if they offered the slightest resistance to any public ceremony enjoined by the Church, they would incur the guilt of sacrilege, and be accordingly subjected to the very pains and penalties of excommunication which they wished to avert from another. This had the effect of calming them into submission, and the priest learning this, consented to sign over to his superiors the property of the Church which he had unlawfully withheld from it, and to leave the town the following day, so that all further proceedings were stayed against him. (III, p. 263.)

The strength of the Church in Illinois and the promise of rapid growth was clearly visible at this time. We read that there were thirty Churches and at least 5,000 members. Of the future of the Church in that State, Buckingham says:

The increase of population, from German and Irish settlers, will no doubt increase the Catholic adherents still more rapidly than those of any other Church, though the whole population, native as well as foreign, is growing rapidly every year. (III, p. 281.)

Detroit had been the See of a Bishop for a few years before the visit of our traveler, but had not grown as rapidly as the other episcopal cities he had visited. He sums up the Catholic activities of the city briefly:

There are two Catholic Churches; one a large Cathedral for the French population, and the other a smaller church for the Irish and Germans; an orphan asylum, a German free school, and a French female charity school. (III, p. 388.)

The State of Michigan he accounts for as follows:

The Roman Catholics exceed the whole of the Protestants united, numbering about 20,000, of whom about 10,000 are of French descent, 8,000 English, Irish and German, and the remainder converted Indians and half-breeds. (III, p. 419.)

In his two volumes, *Slave States,* Buckingham makes a number of passing references to the Church as he did in his two other works. He mentions:

There was one Catholic Church in the cities of Augusta, Richmond and Columbia; two in Savannah; two Churches and a weekly Catholic paper in Charleston. The States of Virginia and Tennessee are said to have but a few Catholic congregations.

The State of Louisiana was to Buckingham, as to others, a section of great Catholic activities:

> The predominant religion of the State has always been Roman Catholic, the subdivision of the area being into twenty ecclesiastical parishes, each of which is supplied with priests from the old Cathedral of New Orleans. Since the cession of the territory to the United States and its incorporation into the Union, the Protestant sects have somewhat increased. (I, p. 309.)

His impressions of New Orleans were very favorable and much of the Catholic life of the city is related:

> In 1727, a large party of Jesuits and Ursulines arrived from France, and established themselves in a convent, on land granted to them by the city.
>
> In 1763 the Jesuits were expelled from all the dominions of the Kings of France, Spain and Naples, by a decree of Clement XIII, and they were accordingly obliged to leave New Orleans. Their property which was seized and sold under an order of the Council, then procured $180,000, and it is said that the same property is now worth $15,000,000, at least, merely as land, exclusive of the buildings and improvements made on it, so great has been the increase in the value of land within the city. (I, p. 312.)
>
> The oldest and most remarkable building is the Cathedral. This edifice was commenced in 1792 and completed in 1794 at the expense of Don Andre Almonaster, Perpetual Rigidor, and Alvarez Real, on condition of Mass being offered for the soul of its founder every Saturday evening, a condition which is rigidly fulfilled. The first curate of the parish that was appointed to this Cathedral, was Antonio de Sedella, who filled that office for upwards of fifty years, having come to New Orleans in 1779 and dying in 1837, at the age of 90 years. He is buried at the foot of the altar at which he served so long and faithfully, and has left behind him a reputation for virtue and benevolence, which many a Christian pastor might be proud to enjoy. (I, p. 327.)
>
> The other two religious edifices of the Catholics, comprehend the Ursuline Convent, founded in 1733, now more than a century old, and the most ancient edifice existing in the city; the Ursuline Chapel, built in 1787, and St. Antoine's, or the mortuary chapel, at which all the funeral services are now performed. A larger and more splendid building is intended to be erected, under the name of St. Patrick's Church, the design of which is to be in imitation of York Munster. (I, p. 328.)
>
> The Ursuline Nuns, in their convent, now removed from the city as their valuable property within the city was recently sold at a greatly increased value, for the benefit of the funds, have a boarding school for young ladies, which is accounted one of the best in the State. The Sisters of Charity also have a large establishment for

young ladies in the parish of St. James, where everything required is taught with great ability. In the Convent of the Opelousas is another excellent female school, and the Jesuits have an excellent establishment at the same place for the education of boys, which is conducted by ten professors and teachers from France. These are, of course, all Catholic schools, though many Protestants have their children taught at them from the great attention bestowed on the pupils and the advancement in every branch of learning. (I, p. 361.)

FREDERICK MARRYAT

A Diary in America
(1839)

Captain Frederick Marryat, the well-known novelist, was forty-five years of age when he arrived in America. He was at that time almost as widely read in this country as in Europe. He was born in England and was a naval officer during the Napoleonic Wars. He retired to civil life in 1830, about a year after his first book had appeared in this country. He had seen a great deal of the world during his naval career, and had toured Europe after his retirement. It was, according to his own account, during his wanderings in Europe that he decided to visit America, to make a study of this country for a comparison with that of Switzerland. He was also perplexed by the different accounts of the country that he had read and was desirous of finding the truth for himself. He was well received in this country, and his visit to New York coincided with the first presentation of a nautical drama, *The Ocean Wolf,* which he had written. In all his comments he was most fair to all that he saw in this country, and contradicted a number of previous writers, who had been unfavorable to American Institutions. We have observed in this work, that while he was not attached to the Church, and claimed not to be opposed to it, he quotes from a number of writers who were professedly enemies of Catholicism.

In a general statistical account of all the religions of the country he says of the Catholics:

Congregations, 433; Ministers, 389; Population, 800,000. (P. 202.)

A little further on he mentions that the Protestant religion is showing a decided loss in this country and then mentions the growth of the Catholic cause, quoting a number of authors in regard to the increase and possible future of the Church in the United States:

If the Protestant cause is growing weaker every day from the disunions and indifference, there is one creed which is as rapidly gaining strength. I refer to the Catholic Church, which is silently,

but surely advancing. Its great field is in the West, where in some States, almost all are Catholics, or from neglect and ignorance altogether indifferent as to religion. The Catholic priests are diligent, and make a large number of converts every year and the Catholic population is added to by the number of Irish and German emigrants to the West, who are almost all of them of the Catholic persuasion. Although it is not forty years since the first Roman Catholic See was created, there are now in the United States, a Catholic population of 800,000 souls under the government of the Pope, an archbishop, twelve bishops and 433 priests. The number of Churches is about 401; Mass houses, about 300; colleges, 10; of seminaries for young men, 9; theological seminaries, 5; noviciates for Jesuits, monasteries, convents, with academies attached, 31; seminaries for young ladies, 30; schools of the Sisters of Charity, 29; an academy for colored girls at Baltimore; a female infant school and seven Catholic newspapers. (P. 220.)

The following quotations are from different sources concerning the Church. The first is taken from de Tocqueville, which we have already included in our consideration of that author's work. The second is from the author of *A Voice in America,* who, like de Tocqueville, foresaw the growth of the Church in America, due to the democratic spirit found therein. Then follows a quotation from Harriet Martineau's *Society in America,* which we had occasion to mention when treating the works of that author. A certain Doctor Reid is next quoted as follows:

I found the people at this time under some uneasiness, in relation to the spread of Romanism. The partisans of that system are greatly assisted from Europe by supplies of money and teachers. The teachers have usually acquired more competency than the native instructors; and this is a temptation to parents who are seeking accomplishments for their children, and who have a high idea of European refinements. It appeared that out of four schools, provided for the wants of the town (Lexington, Kentucky) three were in the hands of Catholics. (P. 221.)

This minister, Reid, goes at some length to show that the Pope, who is in fear of expulsion from Europe, is preparing for himself a place in the new world. This he says, is being accomplished by the Leopold Society and the education of youth, Protestant as well as Catholic. He urges that this manner of procedure be watched, because, "Popery and Jesuitism are one." The author, Marryat, then proceeds:

Judge Halburton asserts, that all America will be Catholic. That all America west of the Allighenies will eventually be Catholic I

have no doubt, as the Catholics are already in the majority, and there is nothing, as Mr. Cooper observes, to prevent any State from establishing that or any other religion as the religion of the State; and this is one of the dark clouds which hang over the destiny of the Western Hemisphere. . . . Indeed what with their revivals, their music and their singing, every class and sect in the States have even now fallen into Catholicism so far, that religion has become more of an appeal to the senses than to calm and sober judgment. (P. 222.)

In a footnote Marryat pays the following tribute to the Catholic teachers:

The Catholic priests who instruct, are to my knowledge the best educated men in the country. It was a pleasure to be in their company. (P. 223.)

An earlier mention of Catholics in this work, is in connection with the burning of the Charlestown Convent:

The Americans are excessively curious, especially the mob; they cannot bear anything like a secret—that's unconstitutional. It may be remembered that the Catholic Convent, near Boston, which has existed for many years, was attacked by a mob and pulled down. I was inquiring into the causes of this outrage in a country where all forms of religion are tolerated, and an American gentleman told me that although other reasons had been adduced for it, he fully believed, in his own mind, that the majority of the mob were influenced more by curiosity than any other feeling. (P. 28.)

CHARLES LYELL

Travels in North America (1841-1842)

Charles Lyell, the famous geologist, made his first visit to the United States in 1841. He was already known as the author of *Principles of Geology,* which gave to the world the nomenclature for the geological eras. He was born in Scotland in 1797, the son of a botanist. His primary reason for coming to America was scientific, and he was successful in this purpose. He estimated the rate at which the falls were receding at Niagara, and so forth. He was a man of great freshness of mind and intellectually curious, matured by an unusual education. He had been graduated from Oxford, had trained for the bar, and traveled extensively in Europe. He made a second visit to the United States and left a record of it, but this is outside the limit of this essay and consequently will not be considered. The first trip, which is recorded in *Travels in North America,* con-

tained little of interest in the Church. Of the school question Lyell remarked:

In New York the Roman Catholic priests have recently agitated with no small success for a separate allotment of their share of the Education Fund. They have allied themselves, as in the Belgian Revolution, with the extreme democracy to carry their point, and may materially retard the progress of education. But there is no reason to apprehend that any one sect in New England will have power to play the same game, and these States are the chief colonizers of the West. (I, p. 121.)

This movement was not for a new law, but for the enforcement of the school law of 1812. It was turned down by the City Committee and then taken to the State Legislature. The Catholics lost their point, but gained in some measure, in that the State was in the future to control the educative system and Catholics were in a position to elect members to the State board. The bad effects of the measure were related in the excerpts we have taken from Bacourt.

It is interesting to note that this author felt that the Tractarian Movement was finding its way into the American Universities (I, p. 272), and also another point which was noticed:

I had no opportunity of witnessing the good example said to be given by the Roman Catholic Clergy in prohibiting all invidious distinctions in their Churches. (I, p. 212.)

Lyell could see the storm that was gathering against the Catholics when he wrote:

Some of the more highly educated class, especially lawyers, expressed their alarm at the growing strength of the Democratic party in Ohio, owing to the influx of Irish and German laborers, nearly all Roman Catholics and very ignorant. These new comers, they said, had lately turned the election against a majority of native Americans, their superiors in wealth and mental culture. (II, p. 79.)

JOSEPH STURGE

A Visit to the United States (1841)

Joseph Sturge was born at Elberton on August 2, 1793. After he had finished school he undertook to assist his father in farming. From his earliest years he had espoused the anti-slavery cause and was one of the founders of the Anti-slavery Society, whose program called for entire and immediate emancipation. He traveled through the British Isles to arouse interest in this cause, and, after a trip to

the West Indies, he succeeded in having an Abolition bill passed by Parliament. He traveled to the United States in 1841 with the poet Whittier, to observe the conditions of the slaves. On his return to England he published his, *Visit to the United States.* The active and unpopular part that he took in these reform movements he considered to be his duty as a Christian. On one occasion in 1850, he succeeded in stemming the tide of anti-papal agitation in Birmingham. He died at Birmingham in 1859.

Concerning the slave question in the United States, he says in regard to the Catholic Church:

I was informed not long since, even the Roman Catholics, who are more free from the contamination than many other religious bodies, had in some part of the State, sold several of their own Church members, and applied the proceeds to the erection of a place of worship. We called on the Roman Catholic Bishop to inquire into the truth of this, but he was from home. When in Philadelphia, I gave the particulars to a priest in conversation, and said I would be glad to be furnished the means of contradicting it. I have not heard from him since. (P. 45.)

CHARLES DICKENS

American Notes
(1842)

Charles Dickens, the great English novelist, after finishing his *Barnaby Rudge,* felt the need of some change of mental activity. To this end he started to write the *Clock,* intending to visit Ireland and America and in these countries to write descriptive papers for the new novel. This work was soon discontinued, but his desire to seek fresh fields remained. He set out for America in January, 1842, and returned to England the following June after a reception that might well have turned his head, to write his *American Notes.* He had been run after, stared at and cheered with greater enthusiasm than if he had been a crown potentate. The American people felt that his *Notes,* as well as his endeavor to enlighten them on the matter of copyright, were but poor return for the welcome he had received at their hands. When he returned to this country in 1867 and delivered a series of readings in a number of our cities, America seems to have forgotten and to have forgiven him, and flocked to hear his discourses. As the public were, so must the Church historian be disappointed in the contents of *American Notes.* Only on two occasions did Dickens find Catholic institutions that he thought worthy of mention. The first reads:

At Georgetown, in the suburbs, there is a Jesuit College, delightfully situated, and so far as I had the opportunity of seeing, well managed. Many persons who are not members of the Romanish Church avail themselves, I believe, of these institutions, and of the advantageous opportunities they afford for the education of their children. (Chap. VIII.)

The Roman Catholic religion introduced here by the early settlers, prevails here extensively. Among the public institutions are a Jesuit College, a College of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and a large chapel attached to the College, which was in course of erection at the time of my visit, and was intended to be consecrated on the second of December the following year. The architect of this building is one of the reverend fathers of the school, and the works proceed under his sole direction. The organ will be sent from Belgium.

In addition to these establishments there is a Roman Catholic Cathedral, dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, and a hospital founded by the munificence of a deceased resident who was a member of that Church. It also sends missionaries from hence among the Indian tribes. Chap. XII.)

Summary

The final period of our essay, while the shortest of the three, found in this country the greatest number of travelers, due to the facility of transatlantic travel. The records of these visitors are large in territorial extent, due to the rapidity with which the Church in the United States had spread. This growth of the Church attracted the attention of the foreigner as well as that of the American, and the same fears are expressed in this regard. These works contain as well some mention of the outbreaks against the Church, which was the result of this unwarranted fear. A few pleas for tolerance are found in these accounts, Harriet Martineau entering one in each of her works. There is a constant admiration of various Catholic edifices such as the Cathedrals at Baltimore and New Orleans and the Gothic Chapel at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. Catholic schools receive the highest praise, even from those who were in fear because of their belief of the bad influences of the Catholic Educational System. The schools of the Jesuits and the Ursulines are the most frequently mentioned. Many of these writings are replete with statistics, noticeably that of Stephen Davis, who used them to warn non-Catholics of the rise of Catholicism as a power. Mention is made of the attempt to pass favorable legislation in New York in regard to school support, and the unhappy outcome was foreseen.

A greater number of Catholic persons are mentioned in the books of this period than were in the two earlier ones, most attention being

given to Bishops Marechal, Dubourg and Cheverus, with one fine account of the Sulpicians in Baltimore. The Catholic clergy as a whole are remarked as both educated and zealous. The work of de Tocqueville contains an excellent treatment of the appropriateness of Catholicism in the American Democracy. James Silk Buckingham, who, in eight large volumes, has written a very complete account of the entire country, mentions the Catholic activities wherever he found them. His accounts are at times only passing references to the existence of a church in a certain section. The greatest value of the works of this period is to be found in the comments upon the Catholic clergy and the apprehension caused by the growth of the Church.

PART IV

General Summary

Travel literature as a source for American Church history contains many more references than will probably be supposed on first thought. While it is true that there is recorded a good amount of information, it is as a whole of small importance. Those parts of the country which witnessed Catholic activities, were all visited by foreigners. In the period previous to the Revolution, the hazards of a transatlantic voyage was not conducive to American travel. The condition of the country prevented those who did visit the country from traveling about to any great extent. During the hundred years before our separation from England, there were only seven travelers who have left us records of any extensive travel in this country. Two of these, Charlevoix and Bossu, visited most of the Mississippi and Lake settlements, the others visiting mainly the cities of Atlantic coast. During the Revolution, travel was confined to the war area and restricted to those engaged in the conflict. During the period from the close of the war until 1815, no less than forty Europeans, mostly English and French, wrote accounts of their American travels. Each of these thirty years is considered by one or another of these travelers. The mode of travel was still primitive and the geographical extent of their wanderings is not much greater than those of the first period. There was toward the end of this period an occasional visit to the cities of Ohio and Western Pennsylvania, which places were being gradually settled. The following years (1815-1842) witnessed travel of greater territorial extent. The Westward Movement was afoot, towns were springing up almost over night and this phenominal growth attracted the attention of the European. The frontier towns were frequently visited; and trans-

portation on the rivers and well organized stage lines made travel between the larger cities of the East of comparative ease. During the last period there was hardly a city of any size that was not visited and which did not receive at least passing mention in one or another of the travel accounts of over one hundred writers. The Southern States are not extensively treated in these books, but those of the country north of the Mason-Dixon line, as well as the entire Mississippi Valley, received frequent and extensive treatment and comment by the visitors. The travel literature which is here considered, in regard to the territory which it concerns, follows the Western Movement and contains a fair account of social and economic conditions.

The Catholic Church has not been excluded from these writings. A summary of the entire travel literature gives one a fair view of the condition of the Church in any particular period. The centers of Catholic activity quite naturally receive the greatest amount of attention. Baltimore, Boston, New York and New Orleans presented the best fields for observation of the Church, with St. Louis and Cincinnati growing into prominence toward the end of this period. The Jesuits and the Ursulines were frequently noticed, the former because of their missionary work among the Indians and their educational endeavors, the latter because of the successful young ladies' academies established by that order. A few passages stand out among those we have found in these works. Milbert's short sketch of Bishop Cheverus and Bernard's account of and appreciation of Charles Carroll are typical of the admiration in which these two prominent Catholics were held by the public. Harriet Martineau's pleas for toleration is evidence of the feelings entertained even by Protestants at the time when the Church was suffering from the intolerance of her enemies. Abbé Robin, in his pen picture of Boston in Revolutionary days, gives one a fair insight into the conditions which prevailed throughout all the New England settlements. De Tocqueville has left us a very clear exposition of the reasons why the Catholic faith is in perfect accord with all the principles of American democracy and the propriety of the Church existing in this country. The Gallipolis Colony has been quite fully treated by Thomas Ashe. Carl Bernhard was in the Baltimore Cathedral during the consecration of Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston and carefully sets down the details of the ceremony. Others record interviews with Bishops and priests and these are valuable.

As a general rule it might be said, that whatever is mentioned in these travel accounts concerning the Church, is always in a spirit of respect and praise. Those who viewed with fear the evident ad-

vance of the Church in this country could not help praising her works. The prelates of the Church are invariably referred to as learned and zealous men, suited for their elevated positions. The clergy in general are likewise praised. Missionary endeavor among the Indians is recorded in a pleasant manner and marked with success. Schools under Catholic auspices and charitable works in general are referred to in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the favorable impression these institutions made upon visitors. Very early in the century the Catholic Cathedrals drew words of admiration from the most critical of writers. The zeal of Catholics is commented upon probably more than anything else.

There is little for which the Church is adversely criticized by these travelers. Trusteeism and the Hogan case in parieular drew forth a few bitter remarks upon the Church of Philadelphia and reflected upon the entire Church in America. The building of a church by lottery was condemned by some and highly praised by others. Vinge relates an incident at Mackinac which to his mind was disgraceful to the Church, but investigation on this point indicates that this was but a personal opinion of Vinge. Beltrami, who seems an avowed enemy of the Society of Jesus, lost no opportunity of condemning them and all their works. His account leaves no room for one to doubt his prejudices. Smyth has referred to the same Society in a like manner, when he wrote of their activities in Maryland. Moreau de St. Mery, being embittered by an unfortunate event in Philadelphia, gives way to a number of harsh remarks concerning the Church and the ministers in that part. Bishop Hughes of New York was criticised by Bacourt because of his stand in the school question. That the Frenchman was justified in his remarks has been proved by the outcome of the event which he foretold. Bishop Plessis laments the delay of Bishop Connolly in coming to his new See, and questions the action which resulted in the substitution of the administrator of the New York Diocese without having taken the proper means to effect this substitution. These are the only complaints lodged against the Church and her actions in these works.

Great as is the comment upon the Church in this travel literature, there was much of import that passed unnoticed. There is little mention of the early Spanish missions of Florida, California, Texas and Arizona. The early missionary work in New York is not treated in any suitable fashion, and the work among the Indians on the Lakes and in the Mississippi Valley had no contemporary recorder until the time of Charlevoix. For information concerning these

above mentioned activities of the Church in America, we can in no wise depend upon travel literature. In those places where there was considerable travel and about which much was written, all mention of a number of outstanding factors of Church life is omitted. The number of travelers who have mentioned the early settlement of Maryland, have all failed to mention that there was a toleration act in force under Catholic rule. The intolerance in New York is not mentioned in any detail, although St. John de Crevecoeur, who suffered under this intolerance, wrote some account of his stay in that State. The part which Catholics took in the Revolution is not mentioned even by the Abbé Robin. There is no mention of the Catholics who served on the Commission to Quebec. An outstanding omission is that of Bishop John Carroll, who is only mentioned in passing. At no period did the Catholics of New York attract any amount of attention from non-Catholics other than at the time of the attempted School Bill. We look in vain for a real explanation of the cause of Trusteeism, or for a defender of the Church in that issue. Sympathy was ever with Hogan and his ilk. There is absolute silence about the different Provincial Councils of the period. Persons of high station in the Church were entirely overlooked, as was the case with Bishops Kelly, Neale, Whitfield, Rosati and Conwell, as well as Mrs. Seton. Others were but mentioned in connection with some other item as is the case with Bishops Dubois, Egan, Flaget and England. Added to these is a list of minor activities of the Church which are not even alluded to, and though it is not a surprising fact, there is an absolute lack of knowledge of the inner life of the Church in this country.

In conclusion we might say that the remarks of the traveler are an aid in following the history of the Church. Of this nature are the works of Plessis and Bacourt; of Smyth in regard to the Acadians; Charlevoix and Bossu for a view of the Mississippi Valley; Robin for his portrayal of the city of Boston and the Acadians in Maryland; *The Journal of a French Traveler* for an excellent picture of conditions in Maryland at the time of his visit; and to numerous others who throw light on the anti-Catholic conditions in this country, and give us a few glimpses into the characters of numerous persons. Yet with all this, we can say that this travel literature can not be looked upon in any instance as absolutely indispensable source material. There is not a reference in these pages that open our view to new knowledge of the past. The standard American Church histories contain, from other sources, all that is here contained and recorded by travelers. At best our visitors have left us in their records, aids

to forming mental pictures of the times, and some personal appreciation of the characters in our history, with which the writer of history might be able to possess a broader view of the activities that he must relate.

APPENDIX

This index has reference to the works used in this essay, indicating the location of the excerpts from these books. In the references the following symbols will be used: To indicate works of Buckingham, (A) will refer to his *America,* (E&W) to his *Eastern and Western States,* (SS) to his *Slave States.* Harriet Martineau's works will be referred to by (Ret.) for *Retrospect of Western Travel,* and (Soc.) for *Society in America.* AHR refers to the *American Historical Review.*

THE DARK AND THE BLOODY GROUND

The exploration of what is now known as Kentucky occurred many years before the War of Independence of the English Colonies in America. For the Indians and the whites this region, one of the fairest in the world, had long been regarded as the hunter's paradise. Scores of adventurers, backwoodsmen, traders and pioneer settlers had traversed these primeval forests in search of fur animals and game. Of these early wanderers in the wilderness only fragments of tradition remain. One of the first explorers of whom there is any record was a certain Colonel Wood who came in 1654. Nearly a century later Dr. Thomas Walker of Virginia, explorer and surveyor, crossed the Cumberland, which he named, and proceeded to the headwaters of the Kentucky River.[1]

The person who was destined to settle permanently in Kentucky and to establish there a community was Daniel Boone. He himself stated that he "was ordained by God to settle the wilderness." He had heard about this territory from a stray hunter and Indian trader, John Finley by name. On May 1, 1769, he left his home on the Yadkin River in North Carolina and his purpose was "to wander through the wilderness of America in quest of Kentucky."[2]

The first distinct effort at colonization was made by James Harrod, near Louisville, in 1774, and this was soon followed by many settlements, encouraged by Henderson and Company, who issued entry certificates of surveys for five hundred and sixty thousand acres of land. The colony came to be known as Transylvania. For a short period a sort of hegemony was established. Delegates were assembled at Boonesborough at the call of Colonel Henderson. The representatives of this parliament drew up certain laws for the government of the territory and then adjourned, never to meet again. On account of precarious titles the seventeen million acres now comprising the colony of Transylvania became involved in litigation. Then the governor of North Carolina declared the purchases and sales of this land illegal. Later the Virginia Assembly compromised with the proprietors, but disintegration of the settlements was already in progress.[3]

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[1] See *Dr. Thomas Walker's Journal of 1750* (in *Johnston's First Explorations of Kentucky*, Louisville, J. P. Morton, 1898).

[2] Filson, John: *Beginnings of Kentucky* (1775) from Filson's *Daniel Boone* (see *Northwestern Leaflets No. 6*). John Filson, Kentucky's first historian, published in substance the journals of the pioneer settler entitled: *The Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boone, formerly a hunter.*

[3] Shaler, Nathaniel S.: *Kentucky* (*American Commonwealth Series*) Chapters 5-7.

As soon as the conflicting territorial claims of the different Atlantic seaboard states had been settled, and much of the disputed land had been ceded to the United States, the Kentucky people became strongly impressed with the necessity of a government for the rapidly growing settlements, the interests of which at times were very much at variance with the ultra-montane people of Virginia, for Kentucky was at the time of the American Revolution a county of that state.

A contemporary account (1786) of this territory by a gentleman who resided there for many years, will give an accurate description of the land and its resources, as well as certain curious facts and observations regarding prehistoric times:

"The Kentucky country is subject to and is part of the western extremity of the State of Virginia; is bounded by the river Ohio (which divides it from the land yet possessed by the savages, and by Virginia ceded to Congress) on the northwest; by a small river called the Great Sandy which divides it from Montgomery on the northeast (Montgomery county begins in the eastern district of Virginia, and extending for many miles through a mountainous uninhabited country, strikes the Great Sandy and then running down it to its junction with the Ohio); by the Cumberland mountains on the southeast, and the line which divides Virginia and North Carolina (and which runs a due west course, striking the Mississippi about seventeen miles below the mouth of the Ohio) on the south.

"The extent of this country from northeast to southwest, running with the meanders of the Ohio, whose general bearing is about southwest and by west, cannot be less than between six and seven hundred miles, and in width, from the Ohio to the Cumberland mountains, upwards of two hundred and fifty.

"The principal rivers are the Ohio, Kentucky, Green River, Salt River, Licking, Cumberland and Tennessee Rivers. Pittsburg stands in the forks of the Monengalia and the Alligania, which are the most eastern and northern branches composing the Ohio, at the junction of which they obtain the common name of Ohio.

"The falls or rapids of the river are in 38 deg. 30 min., are navigable for vessels of moderate burthen—are about a mile in length, and said to be about six hundred and eighty miles below Pittsburg, and about four hundred miles above the Ohio's junction with the Mississippi, and, except this small obstruction, glides with a gentle current from its formation to its mouth, and, as well as the other rivers of this country, abounds with excellent fish.

"Besides a number of others in the interior parts of the country, there are three towns established at the Falls—one on the northwest or Indian side, called Clarksville; the other two are on the southwest , or Virginia; one just below the Falls called Campbells-Town, the other just above, called Louisville; the latter is the most ancient and populous, and was formerly almost the only landing place used

in the country; but for a year of two past several others nearly vie with it, particularly a place called the Mouth of Limestone, near the upper extreme of the district.

"The Kentucky river, which gives name to the country, and in the Indian language signifies bloody, is navigable, excepting the dry seasons, taking its meander-measure for upwards of two hundred miles—it is lost in the Ohio about seventy miles above the falls.

"The Green River, which at present is the southern limits of the Kentucky settlements, is of nearly the dimensions with the Kentucky. It meets the Ohio about two hundred miles below the falls.

Salt River is navigable in the wet season eighty miles, and puts into the Ohio twenty miles below the falls.

"Licking is the least considerable river in the country, but it is navigable for nearly the same distance with the Salt River, and empties into the Ohio about one hundred and seventy miles above the falls.

"The Cumberland River heads in the mountains of that names already mentioned, and, taking a circuitous course southwestwardly, visits North Carolina, and thence running northwestwardly, re-enters Virginia, and meets the Ohio about sixty miles above the junction of the latter with the Mississippi.

"The Tennessee or Cherokee is a river nearly as large as the Ohio, takes its rise from several sources in Virginia and North Carolina, and, sweeping a large extent of fertile country, generally in a southwestwardly course, passing through Carolina, visits Georgia, and thence bending northwestwardly, is blended with the Ohio about twelve miles below the mouth of the Cumberland.

"The country at present consists of seven counties, viz., Jefferson, Fayette, Lincoln, Nelson, Mercer, Bourbon, andMaddeson; and, with the rest of the counties of Virginia, send two members each to the General Assembly at Richmond. The county courts in this, as in every other part of the state, are held monthly, and as the magistrates execute their office gratis, the administration of justice in this country is exceedingly cheap.

"In the year 1782 it was erected into a separate district, when a General, or Supreme Court, was granted it, vested with every power in the Kentucky district which the General Court has in the eastern part of the state.

"The country being already populous, and daily increasing in numbers, an application was made to the Legislature at the last session to have the Kentucky district erected into a separate state. In consequence of which, an act was passed for the purpose; but as this act lays the district under some restrictions, perhaps not altogether consistent with the genius of a free people, it is rather probable the inhabitants will decline the proposed separation for the present.

"The Presbyterian and Baptist denominations at present are the most numerous sects of religion in this country, and our correspondent is happy to say that those churches are generally supplied with pious, animated and rational pastors.

"A college is also established in Kentucky by act of Assembly on the most liberal principles. It is called Transylvania Seminary, and is already endowed with about 10,000 acres of the first land in that country.

As this country is very exclusive, so its soil is very various. The lands through which the Kentucky, Licking, and some of the branches of the Salt river run, generally speaking, exceed description. Its soil is eighteen inches to several feet deep, of a dark, chocolate color, and excels the jet black in fertility. Besides the kind already described, there are no less than four or five classes in the district of an inferior quality, and the eastern and southeastern parts of it are little less than a collection of mountains for near two hundred miles in length and one hundred miles in breadth. The western and southwestern extreme is greatly injured by sunken grounds; and some parts of the country will, for many years, be rendered in some measure useless for want of timber.

"After being reduced with a few crops of Indian corn, hemp, or oats, the soil seems very natural for wheat, which has been raised, in a dry season, to weigh sixty-three pounds per bushel. Excepting the parts just described, it is generally a high, level and healthy country. A circumstance peculiar to it is, that the farther from the rivers, the better the land. The intervals, or river bottoms, are mostly contracted, and but of the second quality in point of soil.

"The principal timbers are black and white walnut, wild cherry tree, locust, of which there are two species, white ash, and two other kinds peculiar to this country, oaks of all sorts known in colder climates, mulberry in great abundance, and the mirtle or sugar tree is very plentiful and grows to an uncommon size. The underwood is principally spicewood and pawpaw, or wild cucumber; the latter bears a fruit not unlike a cucumber in shape, but very lucious to the smell and taste.

"The country abounds in many kinds of excellent wild grass, and, although English grass is not a native, yet it flourishes amazingly when once introduced. What is called the foul-meadow grass, and the cane of which weavers' reeds are composed, both grow spontaneously here; the latter continuing green all the year, affords an excellent winter food for stock.

"Iron ore in sufficient quantities, and of good quality, is found in the more broken parts of the country.

"Its exemption from stone on the surface, while it affords the greatest abundance for all the purposes of domestic use, is a peculiarity of this country deserving of notice. The country, especially the interior parts of it, lies on a limestone quarry extremely well calculated both as to shape and situation for building.

"The number of old forts found in this country are the admiration of the curious, and affords matter of much speculation. They are mostly of a circular form, situated on well chosen ground, and contiguous to water. When, by whom, and indeed for what purpose these were thrown up is uncertain. They are certainly very ancient; there is not the least difference in the age or size of the timber grow-

ing within these forts and that which grows without, and the oldest natives here have lost all tradition respecting them. They must have been the efforts of a people much more devoted to manual labor than our present race of Indians; and it is difficult to conceive how they could have been constructed without the use of iron tools. At a convenient distance from these, there always stands a small mound of earth, thrown up in the form of a pyramid, and seems in some measure proportioned to the size of the adjacent fortifications. Upon examination they have been found to contain a large quantity of bones, and supposed to be of the human kind.

"The Salt Springs, by the inhabitants called Salt Licks, with which this country are so amply supplied, are displays of that munificence with which Heaven has distributed its bounties through this lower creation. Had it not been for the supply of salt these afforded, and the wild meat of which it was amply furnished, this country could not have been settled during the scarcity of that article.

"The most noted of these Licks are, Bullet's Lick, Dummin's Lick, the upper and lower Blue Lick (the former of which discharges a quantity of salt water nearly sufficient to drive a mill), and the Great Bone Lick. This last mentioned takes its name from a number of bones of uncommon size, supposed to be elephants bones, in it.

"To give a minute description of these Salt Licks, their number fullness, and the many philosophic conjectures respecting the origin of their saline particles, not to mention the many opinions respecting the bones found in the last mentioned one, would be a detail too lengthy for a newspaper.

"These springs afford water sufficient to supply the whole western country with salt. It is now commonly sold in Kentucky from eight to twelve shillings the bushel, but may be made for half that sum.

"The petrifying qualities of the waters of the Ohio, especially at the falls, may be justly ranked amongst the curiosities of the country. The rock on which the river runs had once been a soft yielding clay, as in many parts of it may be seen the roots of trees, nuts, and other kinds of vegetables turned into stone, and which now adhere to, and are become a part of the rock.

"The healthfulness and temperature of the Kentucky climate—the exuberance of its soil—the enchanting beauties of its surface, especially in the vernal season,—are to the inhabitants of the Northern states real curiosities, and would transcend the belief of the less credulous."

Another letter, dated August 12, 1786, from a gentleman in Connecticut to some friend in Massachusetts verifies the observations stated above:

"General Parsons, who some time since went to treat with the Indians, has lately returned, and informed me that from what discoveries he has made near the Ohio, he is confident America, some ages past, must have been inhabited by some civilized nation, who

were acquainted with the arts, for in digging the trenches of a new fort, constructed on the Ohio, six hundred miles west of Fort Pitt, which is on the backpost of Pennsylvania, they came on brick work regularly laid, and found many sound bricks;—they also found the ruins of a town, and of a prodigious pyramid formed by art, designed, as he supposed, either for a place of worship, or for the burial of their dead, which has lain in ruins so long that he could perceive that there had been three growths of wood in it successively; and judges by every appearance that the latest works that appear were done at least six hundred years ago. He then dug up part of the jaw bone of an animal with three teeth in it, which three teeth as they lay in the jaw, took the space of two feet; these he brought home with him; one weighs five pounds. He measured a thigh bone, which he also found, which was four feet nine inches long. The oldest Indian has no knowledge of the animal; but they have a tradition that once a great beast was there who drowned all the deer and the bears, and that the Great Being killed him with lightning in compassion to them, as nothing else could do it."[4]

An excerpt of a letter from a gentleman in the western country to a friend in New Haven, dated Fort Fenney, near the Miami, December 22, 1785, adds a few facts that will give us an appreciation of the wonderful growth of the settlements within a decade of years:

"The population of the country of Kentucky will amaze you; in June 1779, the whole number of inhabitants amounted to one hundred and seventy-six only, and now they exceed thirty thousand. I have now been thirty-nine days at this post, and there have passed thirty-four boats for the falls, and not more than one-third of the boats

[4] Filson, in his History of Kentucky, says: "What this animal is and by what means its ruins are found in Tartary and in America are questions of very difficult decision. The bones bear a great resemblance to those of the elephant, but whence is it that these bones are found in climates where an elephant, a native of the torrid zone, cannot even subsist in his wild state, and in a state of servitude will not propagate? These are difficulties sufficient to stagger credulity itself and at length produced the inquiries of Doctor Hunter. That celebrated anatomist discovered a considerable difference between the shape and structure of the bones, and those of the elephant. He observed, from the form of the teeth, that they must have belonged to a carnivorous animal; whereas the habits of the elephant are foreign to such sustenance, and his jaws totally unprovided with all the teeth necessary for its use. And from the whole, he concluded, to the satisfaction of naturalists, that these bones belonged to a quadruped now unknown, and whose race is probably extinct, unless it may be found in the extensive continent of New Holland, whose recesses have not yet been pervaded by the curiosity or avidity of civilized man. Can then so great a link have perished from the chain of nature? Happy we that it has. How formidable an enemy to the human species, an animal as large as an elephant, the tyrant of the forests, perhaps the devourer of man. Nations, such as the Indians, must have been in perpetual alarm. The animosities among the various tribes must have stopped till the common enemy, who threatened the very existence of all, should be extirpated. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for a fact, which is perhaps singular in its kind, the extinction of a whole race of animals from the system of nature."

which come to this country with settlers go as far down as this place. It is a moderate computation to number ten to a boat; this gives an addition of one thousand at least in the last forty days, and I am informed that one-half the settlers came through the wilderness from Virginia. I have not a doubt but three thousand men in arms might be paraded at this place in twelve days if necessary.

"It will be as practicable to turn a torrent of water backward, as to prevent the amazing emigration to this country; and, like the general collection at the last day, they are of all nations, tongues, and languages, from China, from all parts of Europe, from our own country, and every part of America they are gathered.

"The whole of that country is located, some of eight of ten locations upon each other, that whoever purchases there, is sure to purchase a lawsuit, and a very uncertain title.

"The principal settlement is Lexington, seventy miles southeast from this post. Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, consists of about one hundred buildings, in three parallel streets, in an oblique direction to the river; it is a beautiful location, having the falls in front, and a view of the river in its course from the upper country. On the northwest side of the falls, the earth, or waters issuing through it, possess a petrifying quality beyond what I have seen at any other place; fish, birds, roots, vegetables, etc., are petrified and adhere to the flat rocks on the bottom, many of which we have gathered.

* * * * * * *

"From every observation I can make I have not a doubt this country will be very speedily settled, and very great advantages may be made by those who are early in their adventures and speculations; and I have no more doubt that the United States will lose all the benefit they expect to derive from it, unless some more expeditious method for opening the settlement on this side of the river should be speedily adopted."

With this rapid growth of population and the development of natural resources and trade, the Kentucky settlers yearned for separation from Virginia. The specific reasons that prompted this action was drawn up by a committee appointed for the purpose during the last State convention:

"Your committee having maturely considered the important subject to them referred are of the opinion that the situation of this district, upwards of five hundred miles from the present seat of government, with the intervention of a mountainous desert of two hundred miles, passable only at particular seasons, and never without danger from hostile nations of savages, precludes every idea of a connection of Republican principles, and originates many grievances, among which we reckon the following:

1st. It destroys every possibility of application to supreme executive power for support and protection in cases of emergency, and thereby subjects the district to continue (sic) hostilities and depre-

dations of the savages; relaxes the execution of the laws, delays justice, and tends to loosen and dissever the bonds of government.

2nd. It suspends the operation of the benign influence of mercy, by subjecting condemned persons, who may be deemed worthy of pardon to tedious, languishing, and destructive imprisonment.

3rd It renders difficult and precarious the exercise of the first and dearest right of freeman—adequate representation—as no person properly qualified, can be expected at the hazard of his life to undergo the fatigue of long journeys, and to incur burthensome expenses, by devoting himself to the public service.

4th. It subjects us to penalties and inflictions which arise from ignorance of the laws, many of which have their operation, and expire before they reach the district.

5th. It renders a compliance with many of the duties required by sheriffs and clerks impracticable, and exposes those officers, under the present revenue law, to inevitable destruction.

6th. It subjects the inhabitants to expensive and ruinous suits in the high court of appeals, and places the unfortunate poor, and the men of mediocrity completely in the power of the opulent."

"Other grievances result from partial and retrospective laws, which are contrary to fundamental principles of free governments, and subversive of the inherent rights of freemen. Such are for instance:

1st. The laws for the establishment and support of the district court, which at the same time that we are subjected to a general tax for the support of the civil list, and the erection of public buildings obliges us to build our own court-house, jail, and other buildings, by a special poll-tax imposed on the inhabitants of the district, and leaves several officers of the courts without any certain provision.

2nd. The law imposing a tax of five shillings per hundred acres on lands previously sold, and directing payment thereof into the Registrar's office at Richmond before the patent shall issue; the same principles which sanctify this law, would authorize the legislation to impose five pounds per acre on lands previously sold by government on stipulated conditions, and for which an equivalent hath been paid; and is equally subversive of justice as any of the statutes of the British parliament, that impelled the good people of America to arms.

3rd. General laws, partial and injurious in their operations, such are the laws: 1st., concerning entries and surveys on the western waters; 2nd., concerning the appointments of sheriffs; 3rd., for punishing certain offences injurious to the tranquility of this commonwealth: which last law prohibits us, whilst we experience all the calamities which flow from the predatory incursions of hostile savages; from attempting any offensive operation; a savage unrestrained by any law, human or divine, despoils our property, murders of fellow citizens, then makes his escape to the northwest side of the Ohio, and is protected by this law.

"Whereas, All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural inherent, and inalienable rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring possession, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

"Resolved, therefore, That it is the indispensable duty of this convention, as they regard the prosperity and happiness of their constituents, themselves and posterity, to make application to the general assembly, at the ensuing session, for an act to seperate this district from the present government forever, on terms honorable to both, and injurious to neither: in order that it may enjoy all the advantages, privileges, and immunities of a free and sovereign and independent republic. Unanimously agreed to."

The necessity of a separate government to meet the exigencies of the times and as clearly expressed in this application for statehood were fully justified by the happenings, especially the exasperating attacks of the savages even in the face of solemn treaty obligations with most of the tribes. A letter from Nashville, on the Cumberland River, dated May 28, 1785, states:

"The inhabitants of the west country who live remote from this settlement, have lately been greatly alarmed by the Indians. Many white men have been killed within the last four weeks by the savages. All of the murders, so far as I can learn, have been committed by the Cherokees, and most of them, I believe, by the rascally tribe called the Chickemagoes. Since the late war there have been several instances of a careless traveler or hunter being killed by the Indians, but those instances were single and detached. Of late the murders are frequent, and three or four persons have been killed in company. Such are the consequences of the late treaty of peace with the Indians. Are we to believe that peace was made for the purpose of bringing about a general war? Strange stories are circulated concorning the treaty. It is said that the commissioner encouraged the Indians to take the land which they formerly sold.

"It is said that they have given up the very path that leads to this country with hopes of preventing people from coming to settle on the waters of the Cumberland River. Also that after the commissioners had flattered the Indians with the hope of large presents, some of the Chickemagoes were sent home greatly exasperated, without a single match coat. We do not think that the commissioners intended to make war, but they have occasioned it, and everybody here expects that Congress, or such commissioners as they may appoint, will contrive to put out the fire which they have kindled and leave us at least in as good a state as they found us. As to the plan of preventing this country from being settled, it cannot succeed. We have the most fertile soil on the face of the earth; the water is good and the climate is healthy; and this country was certainly intended by heaven to give subsistance to a great number of people, and

neither the devil or his emissaries will be able to prevent it. We have fairly bought our land from the State, or obtained it by military service, and we will not readily part with it. We are already too strong in the settlement to apprehend anything dangerous from the Indians, and people are daily coming in to settle amongst us; and if Congress, of the State to which we belong, does not find means to quiet the Chickemagoes, we shall do it ourselves; we had rather the sovereign should draw the sword, when it is to be drawn. In the meanwhile we shall try to exercise patience."

The situation of the settlers grew from bad to worse. The attacks of the Indians became more daring and more numerous. A letter from Colonel James Perry of Nelson County, Kentucky, dated April 20, 1788, to the Reverend Jordan Hodge of Sturbridge, in Maassachusetts, gives a tragic story:

"On the first of April a number of Indians surrounded the house of one John Merril, which was discovered by the barking of a dog. Merril stepped to the door to see what he could discover, and received three musket balls which caused him to fall back into the house with a broken leg and arm; the Indians rushed the door, but it being immediately fastened by his wife, who stood against it, with a girl of about fifteen years of age, the Indians could not immediately open it. The Indians broke one part of the door, and one of them crowded partly through; the heroic mother, in the midst of her screaming children and groaning husband, seized an axe and gave a fatal blow to the savage, and he falling headlong into the house, the others supposed they had obtained their end, rushed after him, until four of them fell in like manner before they discovered their mistake; the rest retreated, which gave opportunity again to secure the door. The conquerors rejoiced in their victory; but their expectations were soon dashed by finding the door again attacked, which the bold mother endeavored once more to secure, with the assistance of the young woman; their fears now came on them like a flood; they soon heard a noise on the top of the house, and then found that the Indians were coming down the chimney; all hopes of deliverance were now at an end, but the wounded man ordered his children to tumble a couch that was filled with hair and feathers on the fire which made such a smother that two lusty Indians came tumbling down the chimney; the wounded man, exerting every faculty in this critical moment, seized a billet of wood, with which he conquered the smothering Indians; at the same instant the woman aimed a blow at the savage at the door, but not with the effect as to the rest, but which caused him to retreat; they again secured the door as fast as possible, and rejoiced at their deliverance, but not without fear of a third attack; they carefully watched with their new family until morning and they were not again disturbed."

To the encroachment of settlers themselves on the domains of the Indian tribes may be ascribed in part at least those intermittent war-

fares which were the scourge of these outposts of civilization. In Kentucky especially the settlements were older but not as well regulated as north of the Ohio River. The Occupying Claimant Law passed by Virginia, gave to the pioneers of Kentucky certain liberties to survey their own tracts and here arose counter-claims. The enmity of all of the tribes in the midwest, both north and south of the Ohio, was becoming more and more manifest. A letter from a gentleman in Washington county dated June 10, 1788, shows that the Indian outbreak was already in progress. He writes as follows:

"Unhappily an Indian war is broke out, which brings direful consequences to the frontiers. The fault, however, is on the side of the whites. Our people were still within a small distance of the Cherokee towns, and still kept encroaching a fine body of land lying about the towns which our people could not well come at without picking a quarrel with the Indians, and there being some people killed and some horses stolen (which, from the best information, was done by the Creeks), General Martin, who is superintendent of Indian affairs for the state, was sent to their towns to know whether they were the transgressors, but our people had not the patience to wait the issue, but fired on the town while he was in it. He laid the blame to some headstrong young men, and got them pretty well quieted and they resumed their business; but shortly after they again fired on the town, killed and old squaw and wounded others—upon which the General was made a prisoner and charged with deceiving them, but as he was a gentleman of excellent address, he found means to persuade them of his innocence, and they let him go, but told him that had any of their men been killed, his life must have gone for theirs. This I have found from the General, with whom I am intimate. He showed me letters he had received from a certain M'Gilvery, chief of the Creeks, who is a high fellow, writes sensibly, is half-blood and has had a liberal education. He is the son of a Scotchman. He informs the General that he has buried the red hatchet as to the settlements of the Cumberland, having satisfactorily retaliated for some of his people who were killed at a French store near Muscle Shoals—

"But to return to the Cherokees, they left that town which the whites had approached so near, and burned it; upon which Governor Suvere embodied about one hundred men and went to one of their principal towns, completely surprised them and, from different accounts, killed upwards of forty men, besides squaws and children, and burned their towns, and proceeded from thence to another town and destroyed it.

"Several of their chiefs fell, viz: the Hinging Maw, the Turel, etc.; several fled to their council house, and were burned; others took the river and were shot, so that they were completely defeated, and he is now returned without the loss of a man, killed or wounded. He is shortly to set out against the Chickemagoe towns. This information I believe you may depend on, as I have been particular in collecting

it from several who are just from thence. And there is an expedition of one thousand men under General Martin to go immediately against them after harvest. From a number of gentlemen from Kentucky we learn they have had very troublesome times with the Indians; a company was fired on while going through the wilderness lately, but no damage was done."

Kentucky was the first new state to be received into the Union under the new Constitution. Several attempts of the legislature of Virginia to postpone the separation had proved successful. An act concerning the erection of the district of Kentucky into an independent state, one of the earliest on record (January, 1786) was printed in the *Virginia Gazette,* and is here given in its entirety an account of its documentary value:

"Whereas it is represented to be the desire of the good people inhabiting the district known by the name of Kentucky district, that the same should be separated from this Commonwealth, whereof it is in part, and to be formed into independent members of the American confederacy, and it is judged by the General Assembly that such a petition of the Commonwealth is rendered expedient by the remoteness of the more fertile, which must be the more populous part of the said district, and by the interjacent natural impedients to a convenient and regular communication therewith.

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly that in the month of August next, on the respective court days of the counties within the said district, and at the respective places of holding courts therein, representatives to continue in appointment for one year, and to compose a convention with the powers and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned, shall be elected by the free male inhabitants of each county in like manner as Delegates to the General Assembly have been elected within the said district, in the proportions following: In the county of Jefferson shall be elected five Representatives; in the county of Nelson, five Representatives; in the county of Fayette, five Representatives; in the county of Bourbon, five Representatives; in the county of Lincoln, five Representatives; in the county of Madison, five Representatives, and in the County of Mercer, five Representatives. That full opportunity may be given to the good people of exercising their right of suffrage on an occasion so interesting to them, each of the officers holding such elections shall continue the same from day to day, passing over Sunday, for five days, including the first day; shall cause this act to be read on each day, immediately preceding the opening of the election, at the door of the Court House or other convenient place, and shall fix up two copies, at least, of this act in the most public situations at the place of election, twenty days before the commencement thereof. Each of the said officers shall deliver to each person duly elected a Representative, a certificate of his election, and shall moreover transmit a general return to the Clerk of the Supreme Court

of the District, to be by him laid before the Convention. For every neglect of any of the duties hereby enjoined on such officer, he shall forfeit one hundred pounds, to be recovered by action of debt, by any person suing for the same. The said convention shall be held at Danville, on the fourth Monday of September, and as soon as two-thirds of the Representatives shall be convinced, they shall and may proceed, after choosing a President and other proper officers, and settling the proper rule of proceeding to consider, and by a majority of voices, to determine whether it be expedient for, and be the will of the good people of the said district, that the same be erected into an independent state, on the terms and conditions following:

"First: That the boundary between the proposed state and Virginia shall remain the same as at present separates the district from the residue of the commonwealth.

"Second: That the proposed state shall take upon itself a just proportion of the public debt of this Commonwealth.

"Third: That all private rights and interests in lands within the said district, derived from the laws of Virginia, prior to such separation, shall remain valid and secure under the laws of the proposed state, and shall be determined by the laws now existing in this state.

"Fourth: That the lands within the proposed state of non-resident proprietors, shall not in any case be taxed higher than the lands of residents at any time prior to the admission of the proposed state to a vote by its delegates in Congress, where such non-residents reside out of the United States; nor at any time either before or after such admission, where such non-residents reside within this Commonwealth, within which this stipulation shall be reciprocal, or where such non-residents reside within any other of the United States which shall declare the same to be reciprocal within its limits; nor shall a neglect of cultivation or improvement of any land within either the proposed state or this Commonwealth, belonging to non-residents, citizens of the other, subject such non-residents to forfeiture or penalty, within the term of six years after the admission of the state into the federal union.

"Fifth: That no grant land, nor land warrant to be issued by the proposed state, shall interfere with any warrant heretofore issued from the Land Office of Virginia, which shall be located on land within the said district now liable thereto, on or before the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight.

"Sixth: That the unlocated lands within the said district which stand appropriated by the laws of this Commonwealth to individuals or descriptions of individuals, for military or other services, shall be exempt from the disposition of the proposed state, and shall remain subject to be disposed of by the Commonwealth of Virginia, according to such appropriation, until the first day of September, one thousand, seven hundred and eighty-eight, and no longer; and thereafter the residue of all lands remaining within the limits of the said district shall be subject to the disposition of the proposed state.

"Seventh: That the use and navigation of the river Ohio, so far as the territory of the proposed state, or the territory which shall

remain within the limits of this Commonwealth, lies thereon, shall be free and common to the citizens of the United States, and the respective jurisdictions of the Commonwealth and of the proposed state, on the river as aforehand, shall be concurrent only with the states which may possess the opposite shores of the said river.

"Eighth: That in case any complaint or dispute shall at any time arise between the Commonwealth of Virginia and the said district (after it shall be an independent state), concerning the meaning or execution of the foregoing articles, the same shall be determined by six Commissioners, of whom two shall be chosen by each of the parties, and the remainder by the Commissioners, so first appointed.

"And be it further enacted, that if the said Convention shall approve of an erection of the said district into an independent state, on the foregoing terms and conditions, they shall and may proceed to fix a day, posterior to the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, on which the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws under the exceptions aforesaid, shall cease and determine forever, over the proposed state, and the said articles become a solemn compact, mutually binding on the parties, and unalterable by either without the consent of the other.

"Provided, however, that prior to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, the United States in Congress shall assent to the erection of the said District into an Independent State, shall release this Commonwealth from all of its federal obligations arising from the said district, as being part thereof; and shall agree that the proposed state shall immediately after the day to be fixed as aforesaid, posterior to the first day of September, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, or at some convenient time future thereto, be admitted into the federal Union. And to the end that no period of anarchy may happen to the good people of the proposed state, it is to be understood that the said Convention shall have authority to take the necesesary provisional measures for the election and meeting of a Convention at some time prior to the day fixed for the determination of the authority of this Commonwealth, and of its laws over the said district, and posterior to the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred eighty-seven, aforesaid with full power and authority to frame and establish a fundamental constitution of government for the proposed state, and to declare what laws shall be in force therein, until the same shall be abrogated or altered by the Legislative authority, acting under the constitution, so to be framed and established.

"This act shall be transmitted by the Executive of the Delegates representing the Commonwealth in Congress, who are hereby instructed to use their endeavors to obtain from Congress a speedy act to the effect above specified."

On three separate occasions were instruments of this nature presented to the Virginia Assembly, and finally in the last days of the Continental Congress that State reluctantly consented to the forma-

tion of the new Commonwealth of Kentucky as part of the Confederacy. The application was passed on to the new government about to be formed. All this work went for nothing, and a new convention was called in 1790 which unanimously voted for separation. A fifth convention was called on June 1, 1792, to frame a state Constitution, but Congress on February 4, 1791, anticipating this date, passed a bill admitting Kentucky into the Union. This Commonwealth had therefore the unique distinction of receiving statehood before the organic law regulating its powers had been inspected and sanctioned by the Federal government.

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[NOTE.—The documents in this article are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and their vicinities between the years 1784-1789. See fuller note as to origin in the January issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 3.]

ILLINOIS: THE CRADLE OF CHRISTIANITY AND CIVILIZATION IN MID-AMERICA

(Continued from October,1927)

CHAPTER V

Establishment of a Government—Tonti—Governor

What happened concerning Tonti and the Recollect Fathers and Frenchmen who remained after La Salle and Hennepin departed is well told by Tonti and Father Membre.

Tonti's account is contained in a letter which he sent to the Count de Pontchartrain in 1693. Tonti says that La Salle:

"Having determined to go himself by land to Fort Frontenac because he had heard nothing of the bark which he had sent to Niagara, he gave me the command of this place and left us on the 2nd of March with five men."

Thus was the first Governor of Illinois commissioned, whose auspicious administration extended over a period of almost twenty years.

La Salle had sent back two men to inquire about the fate of his cargo, and upon their return they met him and told him nothing could be learned of the boat. He therefore determined to continue his journey and sent orders by them to Tonti to go to the old village, that is, the village of the Kaskaskias, where Father Marquette established the mission, "to visit the rock and to build a strong fort upon it" (Ib., p. 290).

The fate of the fort at Peoria is thus briefly related by Tonti:

"Whilst I was absent, all my men deserted. They took away everything that was finest and most valuable and left me with two Recollects and three Frenchmen newly arrived from France, stripped of everything and at the mercy of the savages."[2]

Tonti drew up an authentic account of the affair and sent it to La Salle and states that La Salle lay in wait for the deserters on Lake Frontenac (Ontario), "took some of them and killed others" (Ib., p. 290).

It is fortunate that where Father Hennepin leaves off with the narrative concerning the happenings at Fort Crevecouer, Father Zenobe Membre begins. Thus we have a quite complete report of all

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[1] Kellog's *Early Narratives of the Northwest,* p. 290.

[2] Ib., p. 200.

that transpired at this historic spot in that very early day. Father Membre says:

"Father Louis, having set out on the 29th of February, 1680, the Sieur de La Salle left the Sieur de Tonti as commander of Fort Crevecoeur, with ammunition and provisions and peltries to pay the workmen as agreed, and merchandise to trade with and provisions as we needed them, and having lastly given orders as to what was to be done in his absence, set out with four Frenchmen and an Indian on the 2nd of March, 1680. He arrived on the 11th at the great Illinois village where I then was, and thence, after twenty-four hours stay, he continued his route on foot over the ice to Fort Frontenac.

"From our arrival at Fort Crevecouer, on the 14th of January past, Father Gabriel, our superior, Father Louis and myself had raised a cabin, in which we had established some little regularity, exercising our functions as missionaries to the French of our party and the Illinois Indians, who came in crowds.

"As by the end of February I already knew a part of their language, because I spent the whole of the day in the Indian camp, which was but half a league off, our father superior appointed me to follow when they were about to return to their village. A chief named Oumahouha had adopted me as his son in the Indian fashion, and M. de La Salle had made him presents to take care of me.

"Father Gabriel resolved to stay at the fort with the Sieur de Tonti and the workmen. This had been too the request of the Sieur de La Salle, who hoped that by his credit and the apparent confidence of the people in him he would be able to keep them in order; but God permitted that the good intentions in which the Sieur de La Salle thought he left them should not last long. On the 13th he himself had met two of his men whom he had sent to Missilimakinak to meet his vessel, but who had got no tidings of it. He addressed them to the Sieur de Tonti, but these evil-disposed men caballed so well that they excited suspicion and dissatisfaction in most of those there, so that almost all deserted, carrying off the ammunition, provisions and all that was in store. Two of them who were conducting Father Gabriel to the Illinois village, where M. de Tonti had come on a visit, abandoned the good father at night in the middle of the road and spiked the guns of the Sieur de Boisrondet and the man called Lesperance, who were in the same canoe, but not in their plot. They informed the Sieur de Tonti, who, finding himself destitute of everything, sent four of those who remained by two different routes to inform the Sieur de La Salle.

"The perfidious wretches assembled at the fort which the Sieur de La Salle had built at the mouth of Myamis' River, demolished the fort, carried off all that was there and, as we learned some months after, went to Missilimakinak, where they seized the peltries belonging to the Sieur De La Salle and left in store there by him.

"The only great Illinois village being composed of seven or eight thousand souls, Father Gabriel and I had a sufficient field for the

exercises of our zeal, besides the few French who soon after came there. There are, moreover, the Miamis, situated southeast by south of the bottom of the Lake Dauphin, on the borders of a pretty fine river, about fifteen leagues inland at 41 degrees north, on the banks of the river called Mellecki (Milwaukee), which empties into Lake Dauphin, very near their village; on the western side of the Kikapous and the Ainoves (Iowas), who form two villages; west of these last, above the River Checagoumemant, the village of the Illinois Cascaschia (Kaskaskia), situated west of the bottom of Lake Dauphin, a little southwest at about 31 degrees north; the Anthoutantas (Ottoes) and Maskoutens, Nadouessions, and about one hundred and thirty leagues from the Illinois, in three great villages built near a river which empties into the River Colbert on the west side, above that of the Illinois, almost opposite the mouth of the Miskonsing (Wisconsin), in the same river. I might name here a number of other tribes with whom we had intercourse, and to whom French coureur-de-bois, or lawfully sent, rambled while I was with the Illinois, under favor of our discovery.

"The greater part of these tribes, and especially the Illinois, with whom I have had intercourse, make their cabins of double mats of flat rushes sewed together. They are tall of stature, strong and robust, and good archers; they had as yet no firearms; we gave them some. They are wandering, idle, fearful, and desolate, almost without respect for their chiefs, irritable and thievish. Their villages are not enclosed with palisades, and being too cowardly to defend them, they take to flight at the first news of a hostile army. The richness and fertility of the country gives them fields everywhere. They used iron implements and arms only since our arrival. Besides the bow, they use in war a kind of short pike and wooden maces. Hermaphrodites are numerous. They have many wives, and often take several sisters that they may agree better; and yet they are so jealous that they cut off their noses on the slightest suspicion. They are lewd, and even unnaturally so, having boys dressed as women, destined for infamous purposes. These boys are employed only in women's work, without taking part in the chase or war. They are very superstitious, although they have no religious worship. They are, besides, much given to play, like all the Indians in America that I am able to know.

"As there are in their country many serpents, these Indians know herbs much superior to orvietan and Theriaque, for, after rubbing themselves with them, they can without fear play with the most venomous insects, and even put them some distance down their throat. They go perfectly naked in summer, except the feet, which are covered with shoes of ox-hide, and in winter they protect themselves against the cold (which is piercing in these parts, though of short duration) with skins, which they dress and card very neatly.

"Although we were almost destitute of succor, yet the Sieur de Tonti never lost courage; he kept up his position among the Illinois either by inspiring them, with all the hopes which he built on the Sieur de La Salle's return or by instructing them in the use of firearms and many arts in the European way. As during the following

summer a rumor ran that the Miamis wished to move and join the Iroquois, he taught them how to defend themselves by palisades, and even made them erect a kind of little fort with intrenchments, so that, had they had a little more courage, I have no doubt they would have been in a position to sustain themselves.[3]

"Meanwhile, from the flight and desertion of our men about the middle of March to the month of September, Father Gabriel and I devoted ourselves constantly to the mission. An Illinois named Asapista, with whom the Sieur de La Salle had contracted friendship, adopted Father Gabriel as his son, so that that good father found in his cabin a subsistence in the Indian fashion. As wine failed us for the celebration of the divine mysterious, we found means, toward the close of August, to get wild grapes which began to ripen, and we made very good wine, which served us to say mass till the second disaster, which happened a few days after. The clusters of these grapes are of prodigious size, of very agreeable taste, and having seeds larger than those of Europe.

"With regard to conversions, I cannot rely on any. During the whole time Father Gabriel unraveled their language a little, and I can say that I spoke so as to make myself understood by the Indians on all that I wished; but there is in these savages such an alienation from the faith, so brutal and narrow a mind, such corrupt and anti-Christian morals, that great time would be needed to hope for any fruit. It is, however, true that I found many of quite docile character. We baptized some dying children and two or three dying persons who manifested proper dispositions. As these people are entirely material in their ideas, they would have submitted to baptism, had we liked, but without any knowledge of the sacrament. We found two who had joined us and promised to follow us everywhere; we believed that they would keep their word and that by this means we would insure their baptisms; but I afterwards felt great scruples when I learned that an Indian named Chassagouache, who had been baptized, had died in the hands of the medicine men, abandoned to their superstitions, and consequently doubly a child of hell.

"During the summer we followed our Indians in their camps and to the chase. I also made a voyage to the Miamis to learn something of their dispositions; thence I went to visit other villages of the Illinois, all, however, with no great success, finding only cause for chagrin at the deplorable state and blindness of these nations. It is such that I cannot express it fully."[4]

The Iroquois who were traditional enemies of the Illinois, came in September in force from the East to attack the Illinois. The stirring story of this first known war on Illinois soil is best told in Tonti's own language:

[3] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 106-107.
[4] Ib., pp. 115-116.

"The Illinois were greatly alarmed at seeing a party of 600 Iroquois. It was then near the month of September. The desertion of our men and the journey of M. de La Salle to Fort Frontenac made the savages suspect that we were betraying them. They severely reproached me respecting the arrival of their enemies. As I was recently come from France and was not then acquainted with their manners, this embarrassed me and determined me to go to the enemy with necklaces to tell them that I was surprised they had come to make war upon a nation dependent on the Governor of New France, and that M. de La Salle, whom they esteemed, governed these peoples. An Illinois accompanied me, and we separated ourselves from the body of the Illinois, who were 400 in number and were already fighting with the enemy. When I was within gunshot the Iroquois fired a great volley at us, which compelled me to tell the Illinois to retire. He did so. When I had come up to them, these wretches seized me, took the necklace from my hand, and one of them, reaching through the crowd, plunged a knife into my breast, wounding a rib near the heart. However, having recognized me they carried me into the midst of their camp and asked me what I came for. I gave them to understand that the Illinois were under the protection of the King of France and of the Governor of the country, and that I was surprised that they wished to break with the French and to postpone peace.

"All this time skirmishing was going on on both sides, and a warrior came to give notice to the chief that their left wing was giving way, and that they had recognized some Frenchmen among the Illinois, who were shooting at them. On this they were greatly irritated against me and held a council concerning what they should do with me. There was a man behind me with a knife in his hand, who every now and then lifted up my hair. They were divided in opinion. Tegancouti, chief of the Tsonnontouan, wished positively to have me burnt. Agonstot, chief of the Onontagues, as a friend of M. de La Salle, wished to have me set at liberty. He carried his point. They agreed that, in order the better to deceive the Illinois, they should give me a necklace of porcelain beads to show to them that they also were children of the Governor, and that they all ought to unite and make a good peace.

"They sent me to deliver their message to the Illinois. I had much difficulty in reaching them on account of the great quantity of blood I had lost, both from my wound and from my mouth. On my way I met the Fathers Gabriel de la Libourde and Zenobe Membre, who were coming to look after me. They expressed their joy that these barbarians had not put me to death. We went together to the Illinois, to whom I reported the sentiments of the Iroquois, adding, however, that they must not altogether trust them. They retired within their village, but seeing the Iroquois present themselves always in battle array they felt obliged to rejoin their wives and children, three leagues off. They left us there, namely, the two Recollect Fathers, the three Frenchmen and myself.

"The Iroquois made a fort in the village and left us in a cabin at some distance from their fort. Two days later the Illinois, appearing on the hills near the Iroquois, the Iroquois thought that we had had some conference together, which led them to bring us inside their fort. They pressed me to go and find the Illinois and induce them to come and make a treaty of peace. They gave me one of their own nation as a hostage. I went with Father Zenobe. The Iroquois remained with the Illinois, and one of the latter came with me. When we get to the fort, instead of mending matters, he spoilt them entirely by saying to the enemy that they had in all only 400 men and that the rest of their young men were gone to war, and that if the Iroquois really wished to make peace with them they were ready to give them a quantity of beaver skins and some slaves which they had. The Iroquois called me to them and loaded me with reproaches; they told me that I was a liar to have said that the Illinois had 1,200 warriors, and several tribes of allies who had given them assistance. Where were the sixty Frenchmen who, I had told them, were at the village? I had much difficulty in getting out of the scrape.

"The same evening they sent back the Illinois to tell his nation to come the next day to within half a league of the fort and that they would there conclude the peace, which in fact was done at noon. The Illinois, having come to the meeting-place, the Iroquois gave them presents of necklaces and merchandise. The first necklace signified that the Governor of New France was not angry at their having come to molest their brothers; the second was addressed to M. de La Salle with the same meaning, and by the third, accompanied with merchandise, they bound themselves by oath to a strict alliance, that hereafter they should live as brothers. They then separated and the Illinois believed, after these presents, in the sincerity of the peace, which induced them to come several times into the fort of the enemies, where, some Illinois chiefs having asked me what I thought, I told them they had everything to fear, that there was among these barbarians no good faith, and that I knew that they were making canoes of elm bark and that consequently they were intending to pursue them, and that they should take advantage of the time and retire to some distant nation, for they were most assuredly betrayed.

"The eighth day after their arrival, on the 10th, of September, they called me and Father Zenobe to council, and having made us sit down, they placed six packets of beaver skins before us, and addressing me they said that the two first packets were to inform M. de Frontenac that they would not eat his children and that he should not be angry at what they had done; the third was to serve as a plaster for my wound; the fourth was oil to rub on my own and the Recollect father's limbs, on account of the journeys we had taken; the fifth, that the sun was bright; the sixth, that we should depart the next day for the French settlements. I asked them when they would go away themselves. Murmurs arose among them. Some of them answered me that they would eat some of the Illinois before they went away, upon which I kicked away their presents, saying that there was no use in making presents to me; I would have none

of them, since they designed to eat the children of the Governor. An Abenakis who was with them, and who spoke French, told me that the men were irritated, and the chiefs rising drove me from the council.

"We went to our cabin, where we passed the night on our guard, resolved to kill some of them before they should kill us, for we thought that we should not live out the night. However, at daybreak they directed us to depart, which we did. After making five leagues in the canoe, we landed to dry some peltries which were wet. While we were repairing our canoe, Father Gabriel told me he was going aside to pray. I advised him not to get away, because we were surrounded by enemies. He went about 1,000 paces off and was taken by forty savages of the nation called Kikapous, who carried him away and broke his head. Finding that he did not return, I went to look for him with one of my men. Having discovered his trail, I found it cut by several others, which joined and ended at last in one.

"I brought back this sad news to the Father Zenobe, who was greatly grieved at it. Towards evening we made a great fire, hoping that perhaps he might return; and we went over to the other side of the river, where we kept a good lookout. Towards midnight we saw a man appear, and then many others."[5]

Tonti and Father Membre continued the search for Father Ribourde into the next day, but were obliged to proceed without having found any trace of him. Long years afterwards it may be said portions of Father Ribourde's breviary, his beads and crucifix were found in the possession of Indians of the Kickapoo tribe, and the sad story of his fate was learned. Some Kickapoo Indians came upon him while he was wandering through the forest, killed him, secreted his body and carried off such of his personal belongings as attracted them. Thus was the good Recollect the first to give his life in God's service on the soil of Illinois.

Tonti and Father Membre made their way to Michilimackinac, which they reached on June 5, 1681, after a journey equaled in hardships only by that of his indomitable superior, La Salle. Here as will be seen they met La Salle and De la Forest. Tonti, in his succinct manner, says: "He (La Salle) was very glad to see us again and notwithstanding all reverses, we made new preparations to continue the exploration which he had undertaken."

These preparations were made for the second of La Salle's journeys through Illinois, in which he proceeded to Louisiana.

While Tonti is almost laconic with reference to most matters of which he has written, he was quite explicit in his description of this voyage, and has left us one of the best of the early estimates of the Mississippi Valley country. Speaking of the Mississippi, he says:

[5] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 291-294.

"This river is 800 leagues long, without rapids, to-wit, 400 from the country of the Sioux, and 400 from the mouth of the Islinois River to the sea. The banks are almost uninhabitable, on account of the spring floods. The woods are chiefly poplar, the country one of canes and briars and of trees torn up by the roots; but a league or two from the river is the most beautiful country in the world—prairies, open woods of mulberry trees, vines, and fruits that we are not acquainted with. The savages gather the Indian corn twice in the year. In the lower course of the river, the part which might be settled, is where the river makes a course north and south, for there, in many places, every now and then it has bluffs on the right and left.

"The river is only navigable for ships as far as the village of Nadesche, for above that place the river winds too much; but this would not prevent one's setting out from the country above with pirouges and flatboats, to proceed from the Ouabache to the sea. There are but few beavers, but to make amends there is a large number of buffaloes or bears, large wolves, stags, sibolas, hinds, and roe deer in abundance; and some lead mines, with less than one-third refuse. As these savages are stationary, and have some habits of subordination, they might be obliged to make silk in order to procure necessaries for themselves, if eggs of silkworm were brought to them from France, for the forests are full of mulberry trees. This would be a valuable trade.

"As for the country of the Illinois, the river runs 100 leagues from Fort St. Louis, to where it falls into the Mississipy. It may be said to contain the finest lands ever seen. The climate is the same as that of Paris, though in the 40th degree of latitude. The savages there are quick, agile and brave, but extremely lazy, except in war, when they think nothing of seeking their enemies at a distance of 500 or 600 leagues from their own country. This they constantly show in the country of the Iroquios, whom, at my instigation, they continually harass. Not a year passes in which they do not take a number of prisoners and scalps.

"A few pieces of pure copper, whose origin we have not yet sought, are found in the river of the Islinois. Polygamy prevails in this nation, and is one of the great hindrances to the introduction of Christianity, with the fact of their having no form of worship of their own. The nations lower down would be more easily converted, because they adore the sun, which is their sole divinity. This is all that I am able to relate of those parts."[6]

"During the winter," says Tonti, "I gave all the nations notice of what we had done to defend them from the Iroquois, at whose hands they had lost 700 people in the preceding years. They approved of our good intentions, and established themselves to the number of 300 lodges at the fort, the Islinois, the Miamias and Chacuanons."

[6] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 302-303.

Scarcely were the federated Indians settled under their new governor when the Iroquois renewed their war. Information was brought to Tonti on the 20th of March, 1684, that the Iroquois were about to attack, and preparations for defence were begun. Word was sent to Michilimackinac, where Olivier Morel, Sieur de La Duryante, was in command, and he was asked for assistance. The Iroquois appeared on the 21st of March and were repulsed with losses. After six days' siege they retired with some slaves which they had made in the neighborhood, who afterwards escaped and came back to the fort.

The siege was scarcely over than La Duryante and Father Claude Jean Allouez, a Jesuit, arrived at the fort with about sixty Frenchmen to assist in its defence. They also brought unpleasant news. de La Salle's enemies had triumphed and his possessions were wrested from him and turned over to others. Tonti was ordered to give up the fort, and, like a true soldier, obeyed the command of his superiors, "went to Montreal and thence to Quebec, where he met de La Forest with a reversal of the orders. By *Lettre de Cachet,* carried by La Forest, La Barre was directed to deliver up to La Forest the lands belonging to Sieur de La Salle. La Forest advised Tonti that La Salle, who had been to France to protest against the taking away of his powers and possessions, was sailing by way of the Islands to find the mouth of the Mississippi, and that he had obtained a command for him (Tonti) and that he was to go back to Fort St. Louis as captain of fort and governor."

Accordingly Tonti returned to Illinois and La Forest went back to Fort Frontenac. Tonti arrived again in Illinois in June 1685, and De Baugis, who had supplanted him in his turn retired and left Tonti in command.

While Tonti was absent, bad feeling broke out between the Miamis and the Illinois, and it cost Tonti much trouble and money besides to reconcile the two nations.

Not hearing from La Salle, Tonti went to Michilimackinac in the autumn and there learned that the Marquis Jacques Rene de Brisay de Nonville had succeeded Le Barry as governor of Canada, by whom he was summoned for conference in relation to the war against the Iroquois.

From de Nonville Tonti learned that de La Salle was seeking the mouth of the Mississippi in the Gulf of Mexico, and so great was his solicitude about his beloved leader that he resolved at once to go to his assistance. This most difficult journey is thus described by Tonti:

"I embarked, therefore, for the Islinois, on St. Andrew's Day, but being stopped by the ice, I was obliged to leave my canoe and to

proceed by land. After going 120 leagues I arrived at the Fort of Chicacou, where M. de La Durantaye commanded; and from thence I came to Fort St. Louis, where I arrived in the middle of January 1685. I departed thence on the 16th of February, with thirty Frenchmen and five Islinois and Chacuanons for the sea, which I reached in Holy Week, after having passed the tribes described above, by whom I was very well received. I sent out one canoe towards the coast of Mexico, and another towards Carolina, to see if they could discover anything. They each sailed about thirty leagues in either direction, but were obliged to stop for want of fresh water. They reported to me that where they had been the land began to rise. They brought me a porpoise and some oysters. As it would take us five months to reach the French settlements, I proposed to my men, that if they would trust me, we should follow the coast as far as Menade, and that by this means we should arrived shortly at Montreal, declaring that we should not lose our time, because we might discover some fine country and might even take some prize on our way. Part of my men were willing to adopt my plan, but the rest were opposed to it, so I decided to return the way I came."[7]

Regretting exceedingly his failure to find La Salle, he set himself to useful work on the return journey. He found that the arms of the King which de La Salle had erected had been thrown down by the floods and he took them five leagues further up and placed them in higher ground. On Easter Monday he continued his homeward journey and made allies of the Indian tribes he encountered on the way. He also was the means of establishing the first settlement in the Mississippi Valley. "When we were at Arkansas," says Tonti, "ten of the Frenchmen who accompanied me asked for settlements on the River Arkansas on a seigniory that M. de La Salle had given me on our first voyage. I granted the request to some of them. They remained there and built a house surrounded with stakes." Tonti and the remainder of his party arrived at Fort St. Louis on January 24, 1686. Man of action that he was, he immediately embarked with two Indian chiefs to confer with Governor de Nonville concerning the war with the Iroquois. Receiving directions he returned to the Islinois, reaching there in December, and sent word to his savage allies declaring war against the Iroquois and inviting them to assemble at the fort. This they did in April 1687.

"I gave our savages a dog feast, and, after having declared to them the will of the King and of the Governor of New France, I set out on April 17th, with sixteen Frenchmen and a guide of the Miami nation."

Only twenty Frenchmen remained at the fort and Bellefontaine was left in command during Tonti's absence. The war party grew

[7] Ib., p. 307.

as it proceeded, so that some five hundred warriors completed the journey of 200 leagues to Fort Detroit, which was reached on the 19th of May.

The stirring days succeeding Tonti's arrival at the war front are graphically told in his memoir. The enemy consisted of the English and their savage Iroquois allies. The fighting favored the French, but Tonti ascribes his success largely to:

"Two strokes of good luck (quick action and the prevention of the use of brandy). As . . . from the great quantity of brandy and merchandise which they (the English) had with them (they) would have gained over our allies and thus we should have had all of the savages and the English upon us at once."

With his remarkable faculty for covering distance, Tonti reached as far as the Niagara where he built a fort.

The Iroquois being checked for the present, Tonti started on his return journey, coming home by way of Detroit and Michilimackinac. At Detroit he was joined by Father Jacques Gravier, the Jesuit who afterwards became the head of the Missions in Illinois.

Arriving home, Tonti found there Abbe Jean Cavalier, the brother of de La Salle, and others of de La Salle's party who had arrived in his absence. They falsely told Tonti that they left de Da Salle "at the Gulf of Mexico in good health."

This return party was obliged to remain at Fort St. Louis, and, from an extended account of the journey written by Henry Joutel, who was of the party, we are able to learn something of conditions in Illinois at that time and of Tonti's government at the Fort. "On Sunday the 14th, of September," (1689) says Joutel, "about two in the afternoon, we came into the neighborhood of Fort Louis. Drawing near, we were met by some Indians that were on the bank, who, having viewed us well, and understanding we came from M. de la Salle, and that we belonged to him, ran to the fort to carry the news, and immediately we saw a Frenchman come out, with a company of Indians, who fired a volley of several pieces to salute us. Then the Frenchman drew near and desired us to come ashore, which we did, leaving only one in the canoe to take care of our baggage, for the Illinois are very sharp at carrying off anything they can lay their hands on, and consequently nothing near so honest as the nations we had passed through."

For various reasons the party was obliged to remain at the Fort for the rest of the autumn and part of the winter, "to our great sorrow," says Joutel, "and not so much for our own disappointment as for being by that means obstructed from sending succor as soon as we had expected as well to the said fort as to those French of our own country whom we had left on the Coast of the Bay of Mexico."

Joutel says that the leisure he had during the stay gave him an opportunity for observation, and, profiting from it, he writes down what he learned of the French at Fort St. Louis.

"Fort St. Louis," says he, "is in the country of the Illinois, and seated on a steep rock, about two hundred feet high, the river running at the bottom of it. It is only fortified with stakes and palisades and some houses advancing to the edge of the rock. It has a very spacious esplanade, or place of arms. The place is naturally strong, and might be made so by art, with little expense. Several of the natives live in it, in their huts. I cannot give an account of the latitude it stands in, for want of proper instruments to take an observation, but nothing can be pleasanter; and it may be truly affirmed that the country of the Illinois enjoys all that can make it accomplished, not only as to ornament, but also for its plentiful production of all things requisite for the support of human life.

"The plain, which is watered by the river, is beautified by two small hills, about half a league distant from the fort, and those hills are covered with groves of oaks, walnut trees and other sorts I have named elsewhere. The fields are full of grass, growing up very high. On the sides of the hills is found a gravelly sort of stone very fit to make lime for building. There are also many clay pits, fit for making of earthenware, bricks and tiles; and along the river there are coal pits, the coal whereof has been tried and found very good.

"There is no reason to question but that there are in this country mines of all sorts of metals, and of the richest, the climate being the same as that of New Mexico. We saw several spots where it appeared there were iron mines, and found some pieces of it on the bank of the river, which nature had cleansed. Travelers who have been at the upper part of the Mississippi affirm they have found mines there of very good lead.

"That country is one of the most temperate in the world, and consequently whatsoever is sown there, whether herbs, roots, Indian and even European corn, thrives very well, as has been tried by the Sieur Boisrondet, who sowed all sorts and had a plentiful crop, and

we eat of the bread, which was very good. And whereas we were assured that there were vines which run up, whose grapes are very good and delicious, growing along the river, it is reasonable to believe that if those vines were transplanted and pruned there might be very good wine made of them. There is also plenty of wild-apple and pear trees, and of several other sorts, which would afford excellent fruit were they grafted and transplanted.

"All other sorts of fruit, as plums, peaches and others, wherewith the country abounds, would become exquisite if the same industry were used; and other sorts of fruit we have in France would thrive well if they were carried over. The earth produces a sort of hemp, whereof cloth might be made and cordage. . . .

"We continued some time in Fort Louis without receiving any news. Our business was, after having heard Mass, which we had the good fortune to do every day, to divert ourselves the best way we could. The Indian woman daily brought in something fresh; we wanted not for watermelons, bread made of Indian corn, baked in the embers, and other such things, and we rewarded them by little presents in return.

"On the 27th of October of the same year M. Tonti returned from the war with the Iroquois. Our embraces and the relation of our adventures were repeated, but still concealing from him the death of M. de la Salle. He told us all the particulars of that war, and said the Iroquois, having got intelligence of the march of the French forces and their allies, had come out of their villages and laid themselves in ambush by the way; but that having made a sudden and general discharge upon our men, with their usual cries, yet without much harm done, they had been repulsed with loss, took to flight, and by the way burnt all their own villages. That M. d'Hennonville, chief governor of New France, had caused the army to march, to burn the rest of their villages, set fire to their country and corn, but would not proceed any farther. That afterwards he had made himself master of the several canoes belonging to the English, most of them laden with brandy, which had been plundered; that the English had been sent prisoners to Montreal, they being come to make some attempt upon the Illinois.

"We continued after this manner till the month of December, when two men arrived from Montreal. They came to give notice to M. Tonti that three canoes, laden with merchandise, powder, ball and other things, were arrived at Chicagob; that there being too little water in the river, and what there was being frozen, they could come no lower; so that it being requisite to send men to fetch those things,

M. Tonti desired the chief of the Chahouanous to furnish him with people. That chief accordingly provided forty, men as well as women, who set out with some Frenchmen. The honesty of the Chahouanous was the reason for preferring them before the Illinois, who are naturally knaves.

"That ammunition and merchandise were soon brought, and very seasonably, the fort being then in want. We stayed there till the end of February, 1688, at which time we fixed our resolution to depart, though we had no news from Canada, as we expected. We found there some canoes ready to undertake that voyage, and we laid hold of that opportunity to convey each other to the Micilimaquinay, where we hoped to meet some news from Canada.

"M. Cavelier, the priest, had taken care, before the death of M. de la Salle, his brother, to get of him a letter of credit, to receive either a sum of money or furs in the country of the Illinois. He tendered that letter to M. Tonti, who, believing M. de la Salle was still alive, made no difficulty of giving him to the value of about four thousand livres in furs, castors and other skins, a canoe and other effects, for which the said M. Cavelier gave him his note, and we prepared for our journey.

"I have before observed that there was a Jesuit, whose name was Dalouez, at Fort Louis, and who had been very much surprised to hear that M. de La Salle was to come in a short time, being under great apprehensions on account of a conspiracy intended to have been carried on against M. de La Salle's interest. That father, perceiving our departure was fixed, moved first, and went away foremost, to return to Micilmaquinay; so that they were left without a priest at Fort Louis, which was a great trouble to us, because we were the occasion of it, and therefore those who were to remain in the fort anticipated the time and made their Easter, taking the advantage of the presence of F. Anastasius and M. Cavelier.

"At length we set out on the 21st of March from Fort Louis. The Sieur Boisrondet, who was desirous to return to France, joined us; we embarked on the river, which was then become navigable, and before we had advanced five leagues met with a rapid stream, which obliged us to go ashore, and then again into the water, to draw along our canoe. I had the misfortune to hurt one of my feet against a rock that lay under water, which troubled me very much for a long time, and be being under a necessity of going often into the water, I suffered extremely, and more than I had done since our departure from the Gulf of Mexico.

"We arrived at Chicagon on the 29th of March, and our first care was to seek what we had concealed at our former voyage, having, as was there said, buried our luggage and provisions. We found it had been opened and some furs and linen taken away, almost all of which belonged to me. This had been done by a Frenchman whom M. Tonti had sent from the fort during the winter season to know whether there were any canoes at Chicagon, and whom he had directed to see whether anybody had meddled with what we had concealed, and he made use of that advice to rob us.

"The bad weather obliged us to stay in that place till April. That time of rest was advantageous for the healing of my foot; and there being but very little game in that place, we had nothing but our meal or Indian wheat to feed on; yet we discovered a kind of manna, which was a great help to us. It was a sort of tree, resembling our maple, in which we made incisions, whence flowed a sweet liquor, and in it we boiled our Indian wheat, which made it delicious, sweet and of a very agreeable relish.

"There being no sugar canes in that country, those trees supplied that liquor, which being boiled up and evaporated, turned into a kind of sugar somewhat brownish, but very good. In the woods we found a sort of garlic, not so strong as ours, and small onions very like ours in taste, and some charvel of the same relish as that which we have, but different in the leaf.

"The weather being somewhat mended, we embarked again, and entered upon the lake on the 5th of April, keeping to the north side to shun the Iroquois." [8]

"After their departure and in September of the same year, a Frenchman named Couture brought two Arkansas Indians to Tonti who informed him of the death of La Salle, relating all the circumstances.

"Having been advised by Governor De Nonville not to interfere with the Iroquois, Tonti resolved to proceed to the site of La Salle's settlement on the Gulf of Mexico and bring back the survivors of the La Salle party. After a most trying journey, Tonti, with his greatly diminished party, arrived within three days' journey of the ill-fated camp set up by La Salle and in proximity to the village of the Naouadiche who massacred La Salle's party. With his usual boldness he invaded the village and demanded information. The Indians told him different falsehoods, but when Tonti charged them

[8] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 216, 219, 222, 227.

with having killed the Frenchmen, the women began crying and it became evident that the charge was true. From investigation which Tonti was able to make, he gives the following facts relating to the sad fate of de La Salle and his party:"

"M. de La Salle having landed beyond the Mississipy, on the side toward Mexico, about eighty leagues from the mouth of the river, and having lost his vessels on the coast, saved a part of the cargo, and began to march along the seashore in search of the Mississipy. Meeting with many obstacles to his plans on account of the bad roads, he resolved to go to the Islinois by land. So he loaded several horses to carry what was necessary. The Recollect Father Anastatius, M. Cavelier, the priest, his brother; M. Cavelier, his nephew; M. de Morange, his relative; MM. du Haut and Lanquetot, and several Frenchmen accompanied him, with a Chaouanon savage.

"When three days' journey from the Naouadiche, finding himself short of provisions, he sent M. de Morange, his servant, and the Chaouanon, to hunt in a small wood with orders to return in the evening. When they had killed some buffaloes, they stopped to dry the meat. M. de La Salle was uneasy, so he asked the Frenchmen who among them would go and look for them. De Haut and Lanquetot had for a long time determined to kill M. de La Salle, because, during the journey he had made along the sea coast, he had compelled the brother of Lanquetot, who was unable to keep up, to return to camp, and as he was returning alone he was massacred by the savages. This caused Lanquetot to swear that he would never forgive his brother's death. And as in long journeys there are always many discontented persons in a company, he easily found partisans. He offered, therefore, with them, to search for M. de Morange, in order to have an opportunity to execute their design.

"Having found the men, he told them that M. de La Salle was uneasy about them; but, they declaring that they could not set off till the next day, it was agreed to sleep there. After supper they arranged the order of the watch, that it should begin with M. de Moranget; after him was to follow the servant of M. de La Salle, and then the Chaouanon. After they had kept their watch and were asleep, the others massacred them, as persons attached to M. de La Salle. Toward daybreak they heard the report of pistols, which were fired as signals by M. de La Salle, who was coming with the Recollect Father in search of them. The wretches, suspecting that it was he, lay in wait for him, placing M. du Haut's servant in front. When M. de La Salle came near, he asked where M. de Morange was. The servant, keeping on his hat, answered that he was behind. As M. de La Salle advanced to remind him of his duty, he received three balls in his head, and fell down dead (March 19, 1687). I do not know whether the Recollect Father could do anything, but it is agreed that he was frightened, and, thinking that he also was to be killed, threw himself on his knees before the murderers and begged

for a quarter of an hour to prepare his soul. They replied that they were willing to spare his life.

"They went on together to where M. Cavalier was, and, as they advanced, shouted, 'Down with your arms.' M. Cavalier, on hearing the noise came forward, and, when told of the death of his brother, threw himself on his knees before the murderers, making the same request that had been made by the Recollect Father. They granted him his life. He asked to go and bury the body of his brother, but they refused.

"Such was the end of one of the greatest men of this age, a man of an admirable spirit, and capable of undertaking all sorts of explorations. This murder much grieved the three Naoudiche whom M. de La Salle had found hunting, and who had accompanied him to the village. After the murderers had committed this crime, they seized all the baggage of the deceased, and the rest of the Frenchmen continued their journey to the village of the Naouadiche, where they found two Frenchmen domesticated among the savages, who had deserted in M. de La Salle's time." [9]

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON.

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[9] Cox, *Journeys of La Salle*, pp. 317-319.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Jolliet-Marquette Expedition—1673. By Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., Ph. D. Pp. XIV-334. Quincy, Illinois. Franciscan Fathers.

If Jolliet had not been so eager to reach Montreal on July 21, 1674, it is quite likely that he would not have risked his life in the rapids at the Falls of Saint Louis or Lachine. In shooting the more dangerous part of the rapids with fair success the overjoyed rowers steered carelessly into a swift current. The frail canoe was caught sideways by the torrent, dashed down the rapids defying control and finally capsized. Men struggled with full strength to clear the engulfiing stream, but overcome by fatigue, all were drowned with the single exception of Joliet. He was found by fishermen on a projecting rock where he had been cast, unconscious from exhaustion. The strong box and the Indian boy had been swallowed by the fierce whirling waters. So, too were the answers to three questions: Did the Expedition of Jolliet-Marquette discover the Mississippi River in 1673? Did Marquette or Jolliet act as head of the Expedition? Who wrote the narrative of the Expedition as we have it today?

Many historians have endeavored to answer these questions. There are diverse solutions and only one can be the correct account. Since Francis Borgia Steck, O. F. M., has brought forward his solution, we are inclined to believe future generations will not regret so bitterly the loss of Jolliet's strong box with its Recit and charts. Father Steck's answers are: that the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition of 1673 was an exploration of a river discovered by the Spanish more than a hundred and fifty years previous to that date; that Jolliet was the official agent of the State on the exploration, that Marquette was his chaplain and mediator with the Indians and that all depended from Jolliet as head of the expedition; that the report furnished by Marquette to his superiors was gathered from notes made from Jolliet's records and maps which had been lost with the strong box at the Falls of Saint Louis.

The answers to the questions are not original nor are they given for the first time in this work, still there is very commendable research labor in the thesis of Father Steck. He gives reasons for the conclusions, and these reasons are the interesting phases of the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition. The clear, direct consideration of

his subject matter is a quality appreciated by readers of Father Steck's article in this review. He has supported all proofs with scientific reference, and by careful elimination. The manner of judging is so exact that no doubt remains that the false opinion has been discarded definitely. A genuine historian, he has listed all his references according to the best method of tabulation. The Index seems to be exact and complete.

One might question the advisability of the private publication of a work of such great merit. Every library in the country should add this account of an interesting adventure to its catalogue. It is true that private distribution has made the price of the book lower, for the fac-similes of maps and documents must have been made at a very considerable expense. It is a noble work of an accomplished historian, inspired by the ideals of his masters—the truth of past events related with scholarly skill.

Rev. Ambrose Smith, O. P., S. T. Lr.
Dominican House of Studies, River Forest.

Shin-to. By Rev. George Schurhammer, S. J. 1923. Published by Kurt Schroeder, Bonn and Leipzig.

Father Schurhammer, S. J., has dedicated this beautiful volume to his quondam fellow teachers at the University of Tokyo, in memory of his regency of many years in the sunny isle. During those times of pioneer work, when the Catholic Church struggled to reach her present position of influence among the cultured Japanese, this missionary found time to collate and re-edit the valuable records of the early Jesuit work in the Far East. It is these relations that form the basis of the present work.

Dealing altogether with the history of religion before the coming of Christianity, the author takes up in order the mythological period of Shintoism, the Shinto-Gods of historic times and the gods of Ryobu Shinto. Following these studies are two chapters on the manners and customs of the worship, together with treatments of Shinto ethics and the deification of nature in the religion of the bonzes.

The book is scholarly in its abundant use of original materials, and it contains invaluable references to guide the explorer of these unknown sections of history. Moreover the make-up is such as to challenge our instant admiration. Printed in parallel columns of German and English—to facilitate and extend the use of this rare

composition,—the book offers a study in languages no less than in ancient lore. The large type, excellent printing on folio sheets of fine paper, add attractiveness. And when the reader pages through the articles and finds twelve surpassing colored representations of Japanese temples and religious services, and one hundred and two sepia tone illustrations of minor subjects, he concludes he has found a treasure for his library or study.

This work can now be had by writing directly to the Jesuit Fathers. The Fathers took over the whole edition from the publishers two years ago, and are in a position to offer it to American buyers at the astoundingly low price of $2.36, postage prepaid. We recommend immediate application for one or more copies, before the limited number of copies is exhausted.

Mr. Edw. F. Madaras, S. J., a young American who is studying at St. Ignatius College, Valkenburg, Limburg, Holland, will be glad to handle any orders or correspondence relative to the book.

W. E. Shiels, S. J.